

# PEACE NEWS

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## Public Affairs COMMENTARY

by  
"Vigilant"

### THE NATIONAL REGISTER

SIGNS are not wanting that the question of national registration will become a live issue in the coming autumn. There is constant pressure now being applied to force the Government to act for, as the *Daily Telegraph* puts it, "such a register would enable the authorities without delay or confusion to allocate work for men and women according to qualifications which suit them for particular duties."

Members of Parliament are apparently finding that such a register would have the enthusiastic backing of the country.

National registration is, of course, the first step to military and industrial conscription. It is hardly conceivable that the Labour Party would give these proposals any support whatever. But it is disturbing to find a prominent Liberal like Sir Walter Layton advocating such a step.

Speaking at the Liberal Summer School, Sir Walter went so far as to suggest that the Government should approach the opposition parties to consider how best the man power might be organized to meet the possibility of war.

Such collaboration with the Government will mean the extinction of all opposition in British political affairs except in so far as pacifist and pacifist-inclined opinion is prepared to organize its own political opposition.

### JAPAN AND RUSSIA

ANOTHER undeclared war seemed to be developing in the Far East this time between Japan and Russia. Open fighting had broken out on a fairly considerable scale and the whole affair had become rather more than the normal frontier incident of which there have been innumerable instances in recent years.

As far as the merits of the case are concerned, it would appear that Japan was attempting to hold what was clearly Russian territory in the Chankufeng area. It is difficult to know what is behind the whole affair; but Russia's agreement to a truce on Thursday, on terms inconsistent with her territorial rights, suggests it is of less importance, or urgency, to her than some other consideration—for instance Czechoslovakia.

It may be that Moscow and Tokio are really desirous to end the dispute but that they are unable to control the military on the spot. Japan's military forces have in the past acted in defiance of their Government.

### LORD RUNCIMAN IN PRAGUE

LORD RUNCIMAN is now engaged in meeting all the sections of the Czechoslovak republic in order to get a complete picture of the problems on which he will be asked to advise. His presence in Prague seems to have had a pacifying influence. Every side approaches him with a conviction of the justice of their particular case and Lord Runciman will have no easy task in making any recommendations which will be acceptable by all.

The most difficult task, not only for Lord Runciman but for others as well, is to get some understanding of the meaning and implications of the German conception of *volkstum*—this sense of racial unity which transcends national bound-

## VEILED COMPULSION FOR A.R.P.

### EMPLOYEES WHO ARE UNWILLING "VOLUNTEERS"

#### Plans Held Up: Apathy Blamed

THE subtle introduction of methods of compulsion for air raid precautions has become a very real danger following the failure of many local authorities to secure sufficient voluntary support for their schemes. Such veiled compulsion has, in fact, already been exercised over public employees in at least one town.

The failure of many schemes was admitted by *The Times* on Wednesday to be the reason for the preparation by the ARP Department of the Home Office of a series of notes suggesting how certain features of larger schemes may be speeded up, and the full scheme completed by instalments.

One of the places where it is admitted that apathy is causing alarm to the authorities responsible is Middlesbrough. In that town the residents of six roads—numbering some 500 people—were invited by circular to attend a certain schoolroom any evening (except Saturday) of one week for gas-mask fitting.

On the Friday it was reported that seven people had attended on Monday, eleven on Tuesday, and one on Wednesday.

#### "FACILITIES" WOULD BE NEEDED...

It had already been decided that, so far as gas-mask fitting is concerned, a door-to-door method would be inconvenient and, "without facilities," would take a long time.

Even those who have actually volunteered for ARP work are inclined to prove a drag on the work of the authorities.

Following an address by the Middlesbrough Medical Officer of Health, 600 volunteers for the casualty services were given two forms. On these they were required to indicate days convenient for them to take gas training and first-aid training. Two hundred forms were still not returned after a week had passed, with consequent difficulties in the arranging of classes.

#### TO BE TOLD WHAT THEY WILL DO

Although 10,000 volunteers are required, only about 4,000 have been recruited so far. Nevertheless, according to the *North Mail*, the local committee means "to make people sit up and take notice."

A large proportion of the "volunteers" already obtained (reports a local correspondent) are teachers, municipal employees, and so on, who have been told simply that they will be advised in due course what their respective duties under ARP will be (that is, virtually fascism).

Although the people in Middlesbrough are apathetic about most things that do not concern the "getting of a living" the man in the street—continues our correspondent—quite realizes that ARP are a sham and offer no protection.

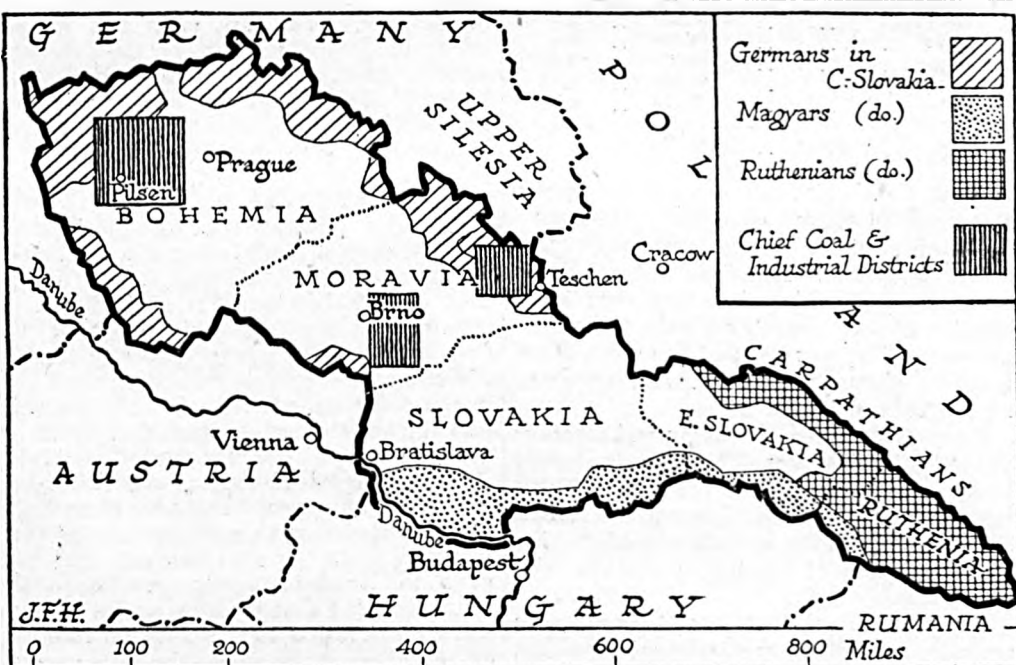
As for the so-called active defences, searchlights and guns and fighters have been proved by the recent mock air war to be practically useless. The local RAF station was thoroughly "bombed" very early in the manoeuvres. Fog keeps the fighters on the ground but will not stop bombers.

## Indian Federation: "Enforcement Spells Danger"

THE repeated warnings, by Indian leaders and organizations, of the dangerous consequences which would follow the enforcement of the Federation provisions of the new Indian Constitution, are brought to the attention of the Secretary of State for India in a resolution adopted by the Socialist Committee for Indian Independence.

"The committee urges the British Government," says the resolution, "to reconsider the Federation scheme, with a view to bringing it into line with the popular Indian demands and to avoiding the development of a serious situation in India."

Another resolution welcomes the firm stand against "police" bombing on the North-West Frontier taken by Colonel Arthur Osburn, who has had life-long experience of Punjab-Peshawar conditions



This map shows the approximate areas occupied by the minorities in Czechoslovakia. Another authority shows somewhat larger areas as being occupied by Germans and by Hungarians.  
(From "An Atlas of Current Affairs," by J. F. Horrabin, Gollancz, 3s. 6d.)

## "G.L.'s" Mission Starts on Monday

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY will leave on Monday on his latest peace mission—this time to countries in South-Eastern Europe.

He will visit Sofia (Bulgaria), Bucharest (Rumania), Belgrade (Yugoslavia), Budapest (Hungary), in that order, and is expected to return to England about September 3.

The object of the tour is to discuss with the heads of the four Governments the question of securing peace through economic cooperation.

The present tour has been arranged by Embassies of Reconciliation, the body which has arranged previous visits to foreign statesmen by Mr. Lansbury.

On this occasion, as on his visit to Central Europe, he will be accompanied by the Rev. Henry Carter and Percy W. Bartlett, secretary of Embassies of Reconciliation.

## Czechoslovakia: A Hungarian View

### NINE RACES IN ONE STATE

#### Causes of Czech Problem

#### ARMS WORKS' ROLE

By NAGY IVAN

CZECHOSLOVAKIA has two men to thank for its existence: Tamás Masaryk, the former Premier, and Eduard Benesh, the present one.

During the war years these two men began in other countries the propaganda which ultimately created Czechoslovakia. The organization which carried on this propaganda called itself the Czechoslovak National Council and in a few months created a strong and well-meaning, but ignorant, public opinion about the Czechoslovak problem.

In the name of justice and freedom they wanted to overthrow the unjust and bloody oppressors of their peoples. The great Powers, impressed by this propaganda stream, whose slogan was the title of the pamphlet by Benesh, *Détruisez l'Autriche*



Hongrie! ("Destroy Austria-Hungary!"), recognized the right of the Czech's legation to create a State

#### NEW "NATION" CREATED

The Western nations believed, quite wrongly, that the Czechs and Slovaks had one language and one culture, and would successfully and agreeably combine to make a new nation.

In a truly noble and idealistic spirit, the Great Powers sat together round a table to draw the frontiers of the new country. This St. Germain conference of 1919 was to rearrange the fortunes and redirect the futures of millions of lives. British, French, and American public opinion had been greatly distracted by the more obvious problems following the terrible world conflagration, and those who had drawn the new map of Central Europe, thought that the trouble was well over and that their work had been satisfactorily done.

Until now, only a very few had noticed that there was something wrong; but in the last few years, and especially in the nineteenth year of Czech history, something exploded in this far-away corner of Europe. Then the western thinkers began, somewhat astonished, to examine the facts for themselves.

#### HOW CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS COMPOSED

Czechoslovakia comprises two geographical units: the whole northern mountainous part of Hungary and Bohemia. The Czech, German, Polish, Slovak, Hungarian, Moravian, and Ruthenian peoples of this new State have no real ethnological, cultural, nor economic unity.

But let us look at the position as admitted by the Czechs themselves. Here is their own official 1930 census of the population:

	Population.
Czechs .. ..	7,446,632 .. 59.6
Slovaks .. ..	2,309,972 .. 15.7
Germans .. ..	3,318,445 .. 22.5
Hungarians ..	719,569 .. 4.9
Ruthenes .. ..	568,941 .. 3.8
Jews .. ..	204,779 .. 1.4
Poles .. ..	100,322 .. 0.7
Rumanians ..	14,170 .. 0.1
Others .. ..	46,706 .. 0.3
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>14,729,536</b>

Thus Czechoslovakia should be called Czecho - Germano - Slovako - Hungaro - Polono-Ruthenia! There is no other State in Europe like it. This experimental State, where the minorities—in language, religion, culture, history—are all entirely different—represent fifty per cent of the population, could only hope to exist if it were governed on the Wilson ideals.

These call for the autonomy and freedom of the various peoples. These ideals already existed on paper, in the treaties of Pittsburg and St. Germain, Trianon, Versailles. The Czechs had the opportunity of making them real, and of creating a peaceful and free State.

I say, further, that the Czechs were actually obliged by the instructions of the Great Powers to give this freedom of language, religion, culture and trade to the minorities committed to their care.

#### CZECH PACIFISM: THE FACTS

The Czechoslovak Party, from the beginning of its régime, has always insisted on its desire for peace. From outside, Czechoslovakia seemed ever to be the paradise of freedom and peace; but the real situation is somewhat different.

Thus on armaments production, the Skoda works employ almost 50,000 workers. In the great arsenals of Pilsen, Prague, Königgrätz, Jungbunzlau, Komarom, Kiskapus, and Ploesti, millions of weapons are unceasingly turned out. And there are other great factories.

In one year alone one of these factories sold to Yugoslavia 7,000, to Rumania 9,000, to Poland 10,000, and to Mexico 11,500 machine guns! In 1929 China received 200,000, and Persia 100,000 guns. . . .

From this same republic which asks Great Britain to guarantee, with English lives, its existence, go weapons and ammunition to revolutionary elements, which struggle against Britain in India, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, and elsewhere. (Skoda recently set up a branch in Afghanistan, too).

These are only fragments of the picture, which the Czechoslovakian situation presents.

Would it not be better to give the

DUCHESSE, Catherine St., W.C.2. Tem. 8243.  
Evenings, 8.30. Matinees, Wed., Thurs., 2.30.

#### GLORIOUS MORNING

by Norman Macowan  
THE MESSAGE OF THIS PLAY, DELIVERED WITH  
BLAZING SINCERITY AND STRENGTH, IS THAT  
"THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IS THE CAUSE OF GOD."

Representatives of the world's war resisters meet & find—

## OPPOSITION TO WAR IS INCREASING

### How Pacifists Would Solve European Problems

By Canon STUART D. MORRIS

who was co-opted on to the International Council

A MOST interesting and useful council meeting of the War Resisters' International was held at the Broederschaphuis, Bilthoven, near Utrecht, at the end of July. Not the least significant feature of the meeting was the fact that it was held on the actual spot, though not in the actual building, which was the birthplace of both the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the WRI.

The council met under the chairmanship of its president, George Lansbury, and in addition to the British members, there were present representatives from Spain, Bulgaria, France, Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, the United States and Holland. We also had a contact with the Far East in Muriel Lester and also with Germany.

Much of the most useful work of the WRI is essentially of such a confidential nature that it cannot be made public, but after a brief survey of the work from Runham Brown and a financial statement from the treasurer, Ruth Fry, the council heard in turn personal accounts from its representatives in various parts of the world.

#### SPAIN

Professor Brocca, whose colleague was not able to leave Spain, told us of the WRI home for Spanish children, of which some of the mothers are able to take charge. The home is being most economically run, but is in still further need of financial help, if possible and needed enlargement is to take place. There is also a need for children's clothes and boots, which readers of PEACE NEWS may be able to supply.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A frank statement of the position in Czechoslovakia made clear the difficulties of the situation. Though it was agreed that George Lansbury is right when he insists that the economic needs of the people in Central Europe underlie most of the other problems, it was recognized that in Czechoslovakia there is a clash between two rival ideologies and principles of government.

It was suggested that as the Allies had lost a valuable opportunity by refusing to make concessions to a democratic government in Germany and Austria, and thus gave to Nazism its opportunity, so the failure of the Czech Government to give full consideration to the Sudeten minority at an earlier stage led to the latter seeing their hope in Nazism.

It was suggested that the ultimate solution would be the securing of cultural autonomy for the various minorities within a corporate State.

In the course of the discussion, the reported mobilization of Germany on May 21 was seriously disputed, and it was reported from certain reliable sources that there was no conclusive evidence that it did in fact take place.

#### AUSTRIA

In regard to Austria, the tragedy in the situation was illustrated by the fact that there were 160,000 professing Jews and 300,000 non-Aryans, but that only 3,000 a month could legally emigrate.

A report of what the WRI has been able to do by way of assisting many who are suffering persecution, as well as its efforts to help the hundreds of men imprisoned for the refusal to accept military service covering nearly every European country, thrilled those that heard it.

#### BULGARIA

In regard to Bulgaria, we learnt that the political situation there involves, to all in-

different nationalities the opportunity of deciding for themselves how they want to live and to which countries they want to belong? Would it not be a good thing to try out the Wilsonian ideas of peace and freedom?

The peace of Europe demands that the "first aid" of Lord Runciman shall be followed by a major operation.

Next week Nagy-Ivan will write about the treatment of minorities in Czechoslovakia, and will explain why the minorities feel they cannot remain in the State as at present constituted.

tents and purposes, a loss of individual freedom under a monarchical dictatorship, and the report was in fact given by one whose release from prison had been secured through the intervention of the WRI.

#### SCANDINAVIA

In Scandinavia the number of COs is increasing. The term of the civilian labour service allowed as an alternative to military training has been reduced from twenty months to fifteen, and the numbers accepting alternative service was increasing so much that the Government had to build two new permanent work camps to house them.

The effect of the WRI was to be seen not only in the strength of its own membership but by its influence over other organizations, such as the League of Nations Society, which was now advising its younger member: to refuse military service in favour of the alternative.

Work was developing in Norway, where a successful camp had been held, and was also becoming established in Finland where the difficulties were greater. A Scandinavian Committee had been appointed to secure joint propaganda, literature and meetings.

#### FRANCE

As a result of Marcel Pichon's work among the young people in France a most hopeful movement had been established and two international camps had been arranged during the summer. The council decided that though it would not be proper to ask any below the age of eighteen to make a full declaration of war resistance, the Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la paix, should be regarded as its youth section.

It is hoped through a British section of the league to give a similar opportunity of association with pacifism to those in this country who are regarded as too young to be asked to sign the peace pledge.

#### HOLLAND

In Holland a new amending law was before Parliament which, if passed, would create fresh difficulties for pacifists. A suspected organization could be investigated by a civil court, and if pronounced illegal, its members would be subject to criminal prosecution.

No foreign "intervention" was to be allowed through either the admission of foreign members to Dutch societies or their use as speakers at public meetings. Even a meeting of the WRI Council would be impossible in future in Holland without the police having the right to be present.

#### GERMANY

Nevin Sayre, known to many as the chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, was full of information which he had gathered from an extensive tour through Europe.

In his view the German economic situation was better today than at any previous time under the Nazi regime, and the regime was more firmly established than ever, although there was a brave remnant of pacifists still carrying on their witness.

He thought that the forces making for peace and war in Europe were almost evenly balanced, with perhaps a slight advantage on the side of peace, but that peace could only be secured if there was a general readiness to pay the price of help-

ing Germany back into the family of nations as a relatively satisfied Power.

Percy Bartlett told the story of the Embassies of Reconciliation and then illustrated the fact that since the method of violent-coercion had been rejected, some other way had to be found for dealing with evil, and that way was through the contact of personalities, bringing what was known to be good into touch with what was believed to be bad.

The steady promise of the PPU and a report of its work were given in the hope that though the conditions in Great Britain are so different from those existing in other countries, it might at least serve to encourage those who are being persecuted for righteousness sake to know that there was behind them a growing number of men and women here ready to implement their pledge, should the need arise, and anxious to create the conditions under which neither they nor others should be placed in such a dilemma.

#### FAR EAST

From personal contacts with leaders in Japan and China, Muriel Lester gave a fresh light on the war in the Far East. The word "international" to Japan meant something which concerned the interest of the leading European Powers, and it was therefore necessary to talk in terms of "world peace" rather than "international peace."

War resistance in Japan was seen in the action of many who, while they did not refuse to join up, preferred to be shot in the back or actually commit suicide rather than use their rifles against the Chinese.

The conditions in the war area were indescribable, but, in the face of all the tragedy, the Chinese national characteristic of tolerance remained sublime and there was no resentment toward the Japanese people.

The leaders hoped to rebuild China in the four more remote provinces and to establish their universities, libraries, and culture with a Chinese background.

The formation of new sections in South Africa and development in Australia and New Zealand were also reported.

#### CHALLENGE TO BRITAIN

It is perhaps not too fanciful to see in the council meeting a symbol of the coming together of the nations for which we look. It has shown again beyond any doubt how man can live and, if necessary, die for his faith which is pacifism, and it challenges all members of the PPU not only to support the work of the WRI but to make of pacifism in this country something not unworthy to be compared with the expression given across the channel.

### Where the Money Goes—and Comes From

By A. RUTH FRY

Treasurer, War Resisters' International

Accounts are usually a dull affair, but at the recent meeting of the War Resisters' International Council they gave a very interesting key to the activities of that body.

The total money gathered together for one purpose or another—general funds, relief work, conference expenses, or literature—amounts to £4,383, coming from forty countries.

That list is a romance in itself—where China jostles Peru, where a native of the Gold Coast sends his contribution, or a Bulgarian subscribes his whole salary for three days and shows thereby what a sadly small total his earnings reach.

Nor is it a one-way traffic, for relief is sent to seven countries, and the considerable sum of £1,196, all raised especially for the purpose from 25 countries, goes to the work of relief in Spain, and especially to our home for Spanish children at Prats de Mollo in France, about which Professor Brocca its "father" told us at the council meeting.

Another new activity is our share in the Colony for refugees in Colombia, South America, where our representative, Rudolph Messel, is engaged in establishing some colonists, with hope of making room for many more.

But undiminished, despite all the other expenses, continues the steady flow of literature to 27 countries in English, French, German, and Esperanto, taking, we believe, our faith in the unity of all peoples to many a hungry and isolated soul.



# Indians Meet Attack With Non-Violence

## Convent as Relief Centre in Spain

### LEADERS' EXAMPLE TO CROWD ATTACKED BY POLICE

#### Strengthens Struggle for Freedom

THE use of a convent in Jaen, Southern Spain, as a food and clothing distribution centre for refugees is reported in a bulletin on work in Spain issued by the Friends' Service Council.

The representative reporting this adds that "several of the nuns, including the superioress, are given employment there and render valuable service to the local refugee committee. I spoke myself with the superioress with complete freedom and she told me that they had all been treated with every kindness and consideration."

"A great number of refugees from the Castellon front are being sent through to Jaen."

Another report, received by a correspondent from a Spanish relief worker of the Friends' Service Council, refers to nuns who work in one of the international commission canteens near Barcelona, and who told him they had no complaints to make.

## CHINESE-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIPS—IN HAWAII

We still get along well with our Japanese neighbours—and they are in a decided majority in this neighbourhood—and there seems to be no diminution in the number or intensity of Chinese Japanese friendships in Hawaii.

So writes Miss Frances Fox Thompson of Hawaii, in a letter quoted in the current (summer) number of *The War Resister*.

"Being a disbeliever in the press," declares Miss Thompson, "and far from the mainland, I feel I don't know quite what the Washington war fever is about." Regarding the Chinese-Japanese friendships she writes:

One young Hawaii-born teacher of Japanese ancestry told me on her return from a California visit last fall that she noticed animosity between Chinese and Japanese on the mainland, but not in Hawaii. I am unable to give a reason for this, unless the usual decent treatment given Orientals in Hawaii for several generations, first by Hawaiians, later by Europeans, has engendered a feeling of security which may be able to stand the test of war.

Both groups send aid and relief to their "old countries," naturally; but on the street, the playground, and the beach I see no bitterness.

("The War Resister" is obtainable from the War Resisters' International, 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, for an annual subscription of 1s. 2d.)

## DESIGN FOR A WORLD FLAG

From a Correspondent

A suggestion for a world flag has been made by the International League of Good Will, which has proposed a green flag with a white globe in the middle—symbolizing "world peace on the green earth."

The aim of the League is to unite the people of the world on the following programme:—

1. Abolition of the armies, navies, and air forces of the world. We want a world governed by reason, not force;
2. Setting up of a world organization for production and distribution for use, not profit, thereby abolishing wage-slavery from the face of the earth;
3. Building an international university where students of every country in the world will gather to study the sciences. Only by spreading knowledge can superstition and ignorance be eradicated;
4. Preparation of a code of international law;
5. Abolition of the death penalty;
6. (a) Abolition of all geographic and economic barriers. (b) Abolition of passports and customs offices, and inauguration of free travel throughout the world;
7. Creation of a universal flag, a universal anthem, and a world language;
8. A universal education, universal system of weights and measures, universal system of postage, currency, and transport;
9. A world board of fine arts and crafts throughout the world on the lines of the loftiest principles;
10. Inter-marriage between the white and black peoples.

The director is J. O'Donnell, 23, Barnes Crescent, Ensbury Park, Bournemouth.

If only the people of the (Indian) States can realize the full meaning and potency of *satyagraha*, i.e., of non-violence, they will win their relative freedom before India as a whole comes to its own. And they will have to before India has independence.

SO wrote Mr. M. K. Gandhi in his newspaper *Harijan* recently. How the Congress workers in one Indian State received their "baptism to the creed of non-violence" in an incident in which they suffered beatings from police, and how it left them with redoubled determination in their struggle for freedom, is told in a statement by Mr. E. John Philipose, a member of the Travancore State Congress Working Committee.

The incident occurred at Chenganoor, and Mr. Philipose declares that it demonstrated "that non-violence is not cowardice but demands of its adherents tremendous courage and fortitude."

Trouble began on a Saturday afternoon when the workers of the State Congress went in procession to their meeting place. The latter was packed to overflowing, but the police had deliberately taken possession of the eastern side of the platform. This is what followed, as described in Mr. Philipose himself, who was among those attacked:—

"We marched straight on to the platform where we found a few drunken men awaiting us. We got on to the platform in spite of their drunken protest and exhorted the crowd in the name of the Congress to sit down."

### URGED NON-VIOLENCE

"Despite the confusion that was taking place on the platform we made it clear to the crowd that we expected them to be peaceful and non-violent and not to be provoked by whatever they might see enacted on the platform."

"By that time the three or four rowdies were getting very vociferous. But when they found that we were not bothering ourselves with their abuse, they commenced hitting us. We suffered them. Our only anxiety was that the crowd should not get out of hand."

"It was a marvel and an inspiration to find the crowd so disciplined and maintaining the spirit that was expected of them."

"Meanwhile we were being hit; and straight away the police came on to the platform. The inspectors kept on asking us to get down from the platform and the constables, too, began hitting us."

"I was standing on the platform holding on to the table right under the very nose of the inspector. A man, who, I am told, was really a police constable in mufti, gave me a smashing blow on my left cheek with a slipper."

"Another rushed up to me and, hitting me on my chest, clutched at my shirt and snatched my fountain-pen away. I immediately told the inspector who was seeing all these that they should at least desist from looting. But the man paid no heed."

"Many of us, including Mr. Varughese and Mr. Ramachandran were hit by fists, batons, and slippers."

(To be hit with a slipper is considered a special indignity by Indians.)

"It was the first experience in my life of being so beaten and slipped."

"How my blood boiled within me! And then it was that I realized the courage and the exacting discipline of mind that was required of the devotees of non-violence."

"I thought of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and the thousands of young men in British India who had suffered so bravely for the cause of freedom and constitutional progress and I felt a fresh courage, and a glorious feeling surging up within me. I realized then, as never before, even in imagination, the joy of suffering."

### CHARGED WITHOUT PROVOCATION

"But the worst part of this sordid story of wickedness was yet to come."

Seeing that, in spite of the hitting, some of us were holding the platform, the police charged on the innocent crowd. I state it here as an honest truth, that the crowd had not given the slightest

provocation. In full obedience to our exhortation they sat squatted on the ground and refused to be provoked."

"My heart bled for the innocent men who were beaten mercilessly for no other offence than that they attended a meeting which was under no official prohibition. Many were injured badly, and I saw an old man with grey beard, who had walked five miles to listen to us, with a broken head bathed in blood."

"With this wanton attack the crowd lost their patience and they started pelting stones at the police; many of the constables took to their heels and took refuge on the road a little further up, bordered by buildings on both sides."

"Some of us stepped on to the road and blocked the seething crowd that was advancing against the police with stones. We exhorted them not to injure the police and to drop the stones; but by that time the inspectors and the constables had summoned up lost courage and to demonstrate that they were not altogether cowards charged again on the crowd."

### MORE DETERMINED THAN EVER

"I am convinced that the experience which men experienced at Chenganoor has only redoubled the determination of the people to struggle for the restoration and establishment of their rights, the security of life and property, and for the achievement of responsible government."

To the workers of the Congress, it has been their baptism to the creed of non-violent resistance to the forces of reaction and wickedness."

In his article referred to above Mr. Gandhi explains a recent decision of the Indian National Congress not to intervene in the affairs of the States. To reformers within the States themselves he gives this advice:

Let them not forget their limitations and, above all, the conditions of success, viz., strictest observance of truth and non-violence.

They must be ready to face bullets without flinching but also without lifting their little finger in so-called self-defence. A *satyagrahi* (devotee of non-violence) abjures the right of self-defence. Let it also be remembered that a *satyagrahi's* minimum is also his maximum.

(Gandhi's Plan for a Non-Violent Army—Page 15)

## School that is Becoming an International Children's Community

From a Correspondent

Following the recent conference to discuss the Universitas scheme, for a worldwide chain of university units which should be guardians of truth and not servants of nationalism, comes news of a school in Holland to give expression to a similar ideal in the teaching of children.

Called the Children's Workshop Community, it was founded by a Dutch pacifist, Kees Boeke.

At present it is a school chiefly for Dutch children, boys and girls of all ages up to eighteen, but it is hoped that the introduction of a German boarding house next month will be the first step toward the realization of the leader's concept—an international children's community.

### LEARN TO LIVE TOGETHER

In the present work emphasis is laid on learning to live together. Children and staff take part in a weekly meeting or "talk over" to discuss day-to-day problems. Every effort is made to avoid a divorce of

## To Take Hate Out of History

An agreement for the impartial teaching of history concerning Germany and Poland in the schools has been concluded between the two countries.

The history of periods of conflict between the two countries will now be taught "factually and passionlessly"; text-books are to be purged of expressions and allusions which the other country may consider to be offensive or derogatory.

It is stated that the agreement will be extended to other subjects.

## Ocean Liner Planned for Peace

From a Correspondent

SO seriously do Norwegians take their national policy of strict neutrality that their latest ocean liner, the *Oslofjord*, was deliberately designed without any provision for conversion to war purposes.

She is making her maiden voyage this summer.

It is not uncommon for liners to be designed with an eye to their use in war time. British ships have been built with stiffening plates in the stern which would enable guns to be mounted, as was done during the last war.

Representatives of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and Finland recently signed a declaration pledging their governments to a common neutrality policy in event of war between other States. It will be recalled that Scandinavian countries successfully managed to remain neutral in the Great War, despite many appeals to their patriotism and humanitarianism.

## Not all Play at Youth Peace Camp

An international camp for pacifist youth was held at Oost, near Maastricht, Holland, last week.

Besides camp activities, and excursions in Holland itself as well as to Belgium and Germany, the young people present turned their attention to more serious matters.

They discussed the spiritual and economic conditions for peace, the problem of disarmament and the fight against militarism, and the parts that could be played by different sections of youth.

The camp was organized by the Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la Paix (International Students' League for Peace), and a delegation went from England.

## Roosevelt to Visit World Youth Congress

President Roosevelt has written to say that he hopes to visit the second world youth congress which opens in the United States on Tuesday. His wife has agreed officially to open it.

An official resolution of welcome to delegates was adopted unanimously by New York City Council.

academic from practical work. No domestic staff is employed, but every member, be he teacher or learner, takes a share in keeping the building clean and in order.

There is as little difference as possible between older and younger members; to help this, Christian names are used and the children are called "workers" and the staff "collaborators." The interdependence of the different ages is recognized and valued.

The collaboration of parents is invited and also that of other adults interested in the work and willing to give some time and knowledge to it.

This year eighty of the older children spent the last fortnight of the summer term in two work camps in Belgium. Several of the collaborators are natives of countries other than Holland, so there is plenty of opportunity for the speaking of foreign languages.

(Further information about the school may be obtained from Lois A. Brown, 13, St. James Road, Bridlington.)



# NEW BOOKS

## MRS. SWANWICK'S SURVEY

*The Roots of Peace.* By H. M. Swanwick. Jonathan Cape, 3s. 6d.

*Reviewed by Captain Phillip Mumford*

MRS. SWANWICK has no "Pill for Peace"; she is indeed so realistic that she will probably be criticized in many circles for not being sufficiently constructive.

In my opinion her book is one of the shrewdest analyses of the peace and war controversy that has appeared for some time. I hope that Peace Pledge Union speakers in particular will make a point of reading it if only for its lucid arguments about the Sanction clauses of the Covenant of the League.

Mrs. Swanwick wants a League of Nations—as indeed, do most of us—but her comprehensive condemnation of idealistic wars whatever their label has not been bettered in any peace literature that I remember reading.

The author does not subscribe to that comfortable and rather too popular view that the people want peace and that governments are the villains who lead them to war:

If men universally or even very generally hated war they would not take such personal pleasure in writing and reading about it, in celebrating its glories by pageantry and fine raiment, by music, sculpture, and verse. They would not show such unequivocal signs of exhilaration and exultation every time their own country declares war.

If it be indeed the enthusiasm for patriotic duty alone which moves them when they throng the streets round foreign offices and royal palaces at the hour of expiry of an ultimatum, we should see a little more enthusiasm for patriotic duty in the payment of the nations' taxes and obedience to the nations' laws. . . . There is in many men at one time or another a genuine desire for war.

This is a truth some pacifists are tempted to dodge. In her picture of the European situation today the author paints in the centre of the picture the most salient features for all to see.

Discussing the practical and other difficulties of keeping international law and order by armed force, she faces up to some of the problems of European federation.

The education of children for peace is one of the main solutions offered—though Mrs. Swanwick does not tell us how we start educating for peace in a world whose main preoccupation is preparation for war. Lastly there is an appeal to women—and I am one of those who are inclined to believe that it is the women who hold the key to the situation if only they can be made to realize it.

This is a really first-class little book where Mrs. Swanwick expresses her views with studied moderation. Those pacifists whose appetite for peace literature is satiated will, I am sure, find this an appetit and a meal. Mrs. Swanwick is the kind of realist who is so valuable in movements such as the PPU.

## CHAMPION OF OLD ORDER

*Arms and the Covenant.* By Winston Churchill. Harrap, 18s.

Winston Churchill reveals himself in all his strength and glory as the doughtiest champion of the old order of our time. He is still a power in British politics, and the adroit, artistically phrased and well-aimed thrusts revealed in the speeches which compose this volume can claim to have had considerable effect upon the policy of the present government.

British politics are rapidly changing. The Right tends increasingly to move in a fascist direction, for which reason it is not particularly alarmed by fascist military successes nor by the scale of its rearmament. Churchill will have none of that, and so far has resisted it with all his strength, wit and cunning. He stands for the old order—at its best, according to his lights. That is to say, he believes in a British Empire which practises justice and generosity, and in a capitalism which is ready to extol and harness science in order that she, "instead of being a shameful prisoner in the galleys of slaughter, might pour her wealth abounding into the cottage homes of every land."

It is because he sees faith in that old order, and willingness to fight for it above all things, gradually waning, that Churchill is distressed. Instead of capitalists seeking to make capitalism strong by spreading amenities, he sees them fleeing to fascism for safety, and even sacrificing imperialist interests into the bargain. Thus he strongly suspects both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of fascist leanings. He deplored the Prime Minister's policy which ended in Mr. Eden's resignation. He has no sympathy for the Four-Power Pact, toward which the Anglo-Italian Agreement would appear to point.

Mr. Churchill, as befits a political fighter born and bred, is a democrat. He believes in freedom because he enjoys it, but also because it provides all the safety-valves necessary to guarantee social equilibrium. He speaks scathingly of all dictatorship:

I will not pretend that, if I had to choose between communism and nazism, I would choose communism. I hope not to be called upon to survive in the world under a government of either of those dispensations.

Elsewhere he describes democrats as "the live-and-let-live people."

Mr. Churchill wants Britain to do two things here and now: firstly, to declare herself as the champion of freedom and democracy and the determined opponent of unprovoked aggression; secondly, to increase her military might to enable her to support a great moral cause with confidence of success, and on this basis to gather around her as many supporting nations as is possible. This policy, which includes French cooperation, is Churchill's version of collective security under the League of Nations.

It is to this end that he has pursued, unceasingly and mercilessly, the National

Government during the last five years, as these excellently delivered Parliamentary speeches reveal. To that end he has flogged the Government with figures of German rearmament. It is probably true to say that the £1,500,000,000 armaments programme is due to Mr. Churchill more than to any other man.

But Churchill is beating a dead horse. What to him are a benevolent imperialism and a socially-minded capitalism are, in fact, the foundation of an order that is collapsing. A war to defend them will end in the destruction of civilization itself. Neither will the social order we desire be won by war. It will be won, if at all, by the sacrifice of peace. One marvels at Churchill's mastery of phrase, and regrets only that it should not serve a worthier cause.

WILFRED WELLOCK

## THROUGH LABOUR EYES

*War and Democracy.* By E. F. M. Durbin. John Bowlby, Ivor Thomas, D. P. T. Jay, R. B. Fraser, R. H. W. Crossman, and George Catlin. Kegan Paul, 10s. 6d.

Seven members of the Labour Party have produced this symposium on the problems of peace and war. It is significant that they all write with one eye on pacifism. Though Marxism is mentioned, it is pacifism they all seem concerned to refute—or some, more moderately, to put in its place as a moral tendency rather than a policy.

The editors express themselves "surprised to find the extent to which the contributors' views, independently stated and derived from separate studies and divergent interests, are, in fact, in harmony." It is interesting, perhaps encouraging, to find that this harmony is especially apparent in a steady underlining of the psychological factors in war, and also in a considerable criticism of over-simplified views of "economic causation." George Catlin holds "vehemently suspect" the dogma "that psychological factors are secondary and derivative from economic"; D. P. T. Jay says, "The argument that capitalism must produce war for inherent economic reasons cannot be sustained"; Ivor Thomas confesses, "I would not be very sorry if I could show that capitalism contained the seeds of war, but the facts are that race, nationalism, prestige, are far more important to an understanding of the causes of war."

I call this encouraging not because of any desire to preserve capitalism, but because if problems are to any extent independent it is best that should be realized. In the first section of this book E. F. M. Durbin and John Bowlby, who write on personal factors in war, put a great deal of stress on the tendency to find a scapegoat for misfortunes. The case against capitalism for the troubles it does cause is not helped by making it a scapegoat for every other trouble.

Sir Norman Angell and others have shown quite clearly that wars do not always benefit even capitalists. As Professor Catlin points out, economic deter-

minism has really no room for economic mistakes, which are human and, therefore psychological. Moreover, asks Professor Catlin, "If capitalists must put a short-sighted private advantage before a long-sighted advantage even of their own system, why must they secure a popular following?"

The contributors to this book preserve their harmony in all insisting upon the need of a fully-armed Great Britain, but there is much variation in the ways they wish these arms used. Mr. Fraser, who thinks like a leader-writer, is for old-fashioned collective security. Mr. Jay wants to destroy fascism. Mr. Crossman has seen through collective security, deprecates an anti-fascist front, and wants an opportunist policy to strengthen democracy wherever it is threatened. Professor Catlin is content to have armaments to fall back on if international conciliation fails. His immediate policy is one with which many pacifists would agree. The question—a psychological one—is whether, given the opportunity, he would succeed in developing at the same time in this country a will to peace, and a will to armaments on the scale that is demanded by modern war.

A. C. STANILAND.

## GUIDE TO EVENTS

*Plebs Atlas.* By J. F. Horrabin. National Council of Labour Colleges, 15, South Hill Park Gardens, N.W.3. 1s. 6d.

When the *Plebs Atlas*, by J. F. Horrabin, was first published (some years ago) it set up a new standard in atlases. The maps made no attempt to crowd in all the names and facts possible. They aimed at leaving out everything non-essential to the illustration of a particular point.

The maps were doubly valuable because to each was attached a "geographical footnote" which explained the geographical and historical factors that the map illustrated. The *Plebs Atlas* was therefore a godsend to the student of current international problems and thousands of copies were sold. It was so useful that copies were discreetly used in some "posh" public schools after the covers and one or two maps bearing on the Labour movement had been carefully removed!

So persistent has been the demand for the atlas that an entirely new edition has been prepared. It contains nearly sixty maps, complete with index, and is bound in stiff covers.

The maps are arranged to show, first, the division of the world into four main groups—three capitalist empires and the U.S.S.R.—then is illustrated the challenge to these Powers of the three newer States—Japan, Germany and Italy. More detailed maps of certain areas, showing clearly the special problems in each, follow the introductory maps.

The new *Plebs Atlas* is one of the most indispensable books for the student of current history, and the author, Mr. J. F. Horrabin, has earned the warmest thanks of such students by making possible a new edition.

By W. A. RATHKEY

## Short Story

"LORD, but I'm tired," the devil said, stifling another yawn. He pushed the latest arrival into the fire. "Gi's a break," he moaned, remembering a notorious gangster's last words to him.

He motioned wearily to a trembling man who was thrusting his way through the fume-filled entrance hall. "Come along, please," the devil yelled crossly. "Come along, I won't eat you!"

A plump, palpitating figure emerged at last, perspiring and coughing, breathless with terror.

"Well," the devil shouted at him. He had been pushing people into the everlasting fire for close on two years, and he badly needed a holiday. As soon as the work slackened off he was going for a long vacation, and Genghis Khan was taking over until his return. "Well?"

"I . . . I . . ." stammered the fat man.

"You what?" snapped the devil.

"I evaded income tax, your worship," mumbled the fat man.

"Dirty sneak! In you go! Next, please."

A WIRY, tough young man sauntered in, oblivious of the sulphurous atmosphere. He was as fearless and flighty of gait as when he walked an aerodrome.

"Airman?" guessed the devil.

"Yeh," the young man said, hands on hips.

"Did you machine-gun women and chil-

dren in . . . in . . ."

"All over the show," vouchsafed the youngster.

"Why?"

"Dunno!"

"Good pay, perhaps?" the devil suggested.

"Lousy, considering the hours."

"Exciting work, though," said the devil enviously. He rather admired bombers and loathed pushing them down with ordinary people.

"Get's boring," said the airman laconically.

"Take a seat, son!" The devil offered him the most comfortable rock on which to sit. "Cigarette?" The devil expertly lit it for the airman with a recent newspaper, which someone had optimistically brought along.

"Thanks!" the youngster drawled.

"LIKE to change places with me?" The devil began trimming his nails. Seemingly careless, he was nervously weighing the chances of unexpected freedom. A holiday after two years continuous prodding!

"What do I do?" asked the airman, draw-

ing at his first cigarette since death.

"Simply push people in here." The devil pointed to the vast cavity, from which flames continuously rose.

"What's the option?"

The devil smiled. "Going in yourself and staying there for ever."

"Oh!" The young man said this with complete lack of interest. Then, spitting out his cigarette, he ventured: "What's the big idea, anyway?"

"I want to go up to the earth for a bit," the devil said, kicking stones into the pit and fidgeting with his hands. "To tell you the truth, 1914 was my last big holiday there. I've sent deputies ever since."

"Oh!"

OBVIOUSLY the youngster was getting bored, and the devil timidly offered him another cigarette.

"Thanks," the airman drawled. Inhaling vigorously, he spoke through the fumes: "How long do I stay here?"

"Until I return."

"When's that?"

"Not more than a month."

"O.K.!" the airman said. He took the

devil's long prodder and began pushing imaginary people into the flames. He didn't seem at all interested, and the devil was terrified that he might prefer the everlasting pit after all.

"It's jolly decent of you," the devil began, hastily buttoning up his coat.

"Aw, 's'alright," said the youngster deprecatingly. "Got your gas mask?"

"Gas mask?" echoed the devil.

"Yeh, a gas mask. You know, that thing over your face. You gotta have one. Everybody's got them on earth."

"I'm afraid I haven't," the devil said, preparing to go.

"Better stay then," the youngster said, almost sympathetically. "Hopeless without one. That's why I'm here."

"Oh, but I'm immortal. Nobody can touch me. See this? Asbestos lined! Nobody can touch me," the devil yelled excitedly, leaping up the steps of hell. "Nobody can touch me!"

His laughter echoed for a long time, peal on peal, but the bored young airman was already sleeping. There was a tremendous queue waiting for him when he woke up.

The devil never returned home. He must have been killed in Spain or China. And now hell is run by a much more efficient devil, who has the advantage of knowing modern methods and who never asks questions.

## The Devil Takes a Holiday



The third article in our series dealing with practical pacifism and the problems of unemployment is by

HILDA CHAPMAN

## Five Years' Work in Salford

THE aspect of the unemployment problem which has challenged me most has been that of the non-provision in official grants to unemployed people of money for clothing and the replacement of household goods and utensils.

The monetary allowances are admittedly barely sufficient for rent and food alone. Yet even unemployed members of our human society need to be clothed—preferably decently so.

In rural or semi-agricultural areas this lack is to some extent offset by the ability to eke out the cash with produce from gardens, allotments, poultry runs, and even small holdings. This allows a margin of cash for extras.

But in built-up areas it is quite hopeless to turn covetous in matters relating to home-grown vegetables and fruit. It is therefore difficult to find practical ways of being of continuous service in a systematic manner to unemployed town dwellers. Social activities are insufficient.

★

IN order to try to meet these extremely practical problems, the Challenge Centre in Salford commenced to work out the implication of a system of clothing supply nearly five years ago.

It was quite obvious that neither new clothing nor new household equipment would be available on a scale large enough to meet the demands. Further, had this been the case, the amount of staff required to handle it would have been prohibitive.

In addition, in those days, and even now to a very large extent, the problem of suitable buildings in which to do a plain, straightforward, businesslike job was insoluble.

★

AS far as clothing and equipment went, it was necessary to acquire the discarded articles which more fortunate members of the community could find easy to pass over to us.

Next it was necessary to evolve a system and before a month had elapsed, in 1933, we found ourselves following a line which fitted in with local needs and yet had strong reminiscences of the early efforts of Robert Owen and others.

Cash could not be allowed as a method of currency because there was none. Even a copper spent on an article worth fifty times more was illegitimate when it was known to interfere with the next meal.

Further, there was no desire to cause inconvenience to local shopkeepers—themselves all too hard hit by depression—or to trade unionists who, after years of effort, have reached a given point on a long road. There was yet further no desire to act as Ladies Bountiful casting charity before those who either hate the feel of it, or those ever ready to take mean advantage of it.

The only commodities the unemployed man had to spare as purchasing media were

- (a) A fair amount of time for creative work;
- (b) A limited amount of depleted energy, which might usefully be husbanded rather than entirely wasted.

We had the collections of otherwise wasted materials. The two were combined and creative production started.

There were many comical inventive ideas, many strange interpretations of those ideas, and altogether they were great and inspiring days.

### FOOD WITHOUT SLAUGHTER

Why not try the Vegetarian Way?  
FREE LITERATURE ON APPLICATION TO  
The Vegetarian Society,  
57, Princess Street, Manchester, 2.

★  
"FIVE years of steady work in Salford have proved conclusively that it is possible for a practical unemployment scheme to be developed on healthy lines, running side by side with industry." Hilda Chapman believes that the development of such plans is a problem pacifists can and ought to tackle.

FIVE years of steady work have only gone to prove conclusively that it is possible for a scheme to be developed on healthy lines, running side by side with industry—neither interfering with it nor growing larger than industry but following at a distance a parallel line.

Such a scheme curiously enough started either shortly after, or at precisely the same time, in Richmond, Virginia, USA. The scheme there was well supported by trade unionists, the local authority, and the Church.

It is still going on; it is questionable if the Challenge can, unless public opinion can be won over to the sense of responsibility for finding the answers to the questions that all the official reports have as their last note.

★

WHAT has not yet been done nationally, and can quite easily be done at this stage, is to gather together in a round-table group those who have experimented on subsistence schemes, whether they have been a success or otherwise.

Alongside the data which their experience can give should be set the number of manufacturing units in this country; an estimate of the usable waste made, together with an estimate of that waste which already goes into other industries.

All these data should be set side by side, and then the estimated clothing needs of the unemployed should be made. An estimated figure could be ascertained of the amount of cash usually expended, in the poor home, on replacement of household equipment.

Armed with all this and the confident reliance upon the fact that the vast majority of employers are anxious and willing to eliminate "the hard core" if only a plan can be evolved, it is certain that a start could be made on husbanning the present wasting energy of our 2,000,000 potential creators.

There are far fewer among them who are lazy and good for nothing than is imagined.

★

WHAT is wrong is that in industry today it is hardly possible for a worker to bend his little finger if the piece-work system employer says it should be kept straight.

Yet when men and women are thrown right out of such a system they are expected to run centres on well-organized and democratic lines, without cash, materials, and buildings of any use, and without a board of management which can give that little bit of disciplined control to which even the most democratic of individuals likes to respond.

Can something not be done pretty soon along these lines?

Have we omitted to realize that this "hard core" is one of the remainders of the last war, and therefore it is one of the greatest practical things that the pacifists can tackle?

The latter are numerous now: many base their pacifism on Christian fundamentals, and there is a Christian solution to be envisioned and then interpreted by those who, because He suffered, are prepared also to suffer, but never to say "it cannot be done."

NEXT WEEK: Friendship by Post, by Beatrice Leigh Clare.

## Good Start to the Women's Campaign for Peace

A Woman's Point of View

THE response to my appeal to women to help in this campaign has been most encouraging.

There has been some unavoidable delay in the preparation and sending out of forms, owing to holidays and shortage of staff at headquarters, but by the time this appears in print all those women who asked for forms will have received them. I hope that they will be able to return them speedily, so that by the beginning of September all preliminary information will have been received and filed, and the campaign may begin in earnest.

That these preliminaries are dull and uninspiring, I know but they are vitally necessary for the smooth and efficient working of the campaign.

The first leaflet for use in the campaign will be ready with the forms, and will be sent to those who have expressed their interest in it.

who are sympathetic and who would gladly help if they could.

### Afternoon Meetings

It was suggested to me when I visited a group in a middle-class area that the solution to our difficulty might be found if we set out to help our women members while asking them to help us.

It was suggested that we should hold afternoon meetings, including tea, to which we should invite mothers and their small children. That we should have two rooms, one for mothers and one for children, and that while the children were looked after in one room, the mothers should have their meeting and tea.

The attraction of such a meeting is certainly much greater than that of the evening meeting. The chance of a few hours' freedom from young children, and the opportunity of exchanging ideas and joining in informal discussion would, I think, be heartily welcomed by those members who are forced by their home ties to remain sympathizers only. It would be easier, too, to bring the uninterested to such meetings.

### Link Between Groups

THE suggestion was made that this scheme, in a working-class area, might prove a valuable link between groups. Those groups which were not faced with the same problem might find among their members some who were willing to give up an afternoon to care for and amuse small children, or to help in making tea.

The resources of a small group would probably be insufficient to make the idea workable; but if in London, for example, there were half a dozen groups interested, it should be possible to make it a great success.

This is the sort of job that we can get down to now. I hear, again and again, of groups who feel that the routine activity of meetings, poster parades and PEACE NEWS selling is not sufficiently inspiring. Here is an idea with almost unlimited scope, an idea that might well grow to undreamed of proportions.

If you are in a group, bring it up as a subject for discussion and let me know what you have to say about it. If you are an unattached member and would like to help, write and tell me.

Some such scheme as this can form a practical and immediate part of our women's campaign.

M.S.

### Wanted: Ideas

HEARTENING as the response has been it has one serious lack.

Correspondents without exception express their willingness and their enthusiasm to take part in any activity, but almost all regret that they have no ideas to contribute.

We need ideas badly. Even the germs of ideas are worth sending along. They may look bald and not particularly rousing when written down but out of a collection of suggestions a really good idea may be built up.

We want good and telling slogans for posters, suggestions for leaflets, drafts of leaflets, notes of local and national occasions when demonstrations might be arranged, ideas for vivid and telling publicity of any and every description.

Please send your suggestions. If they seem obvious, never mind; what is obvious to you may be novel to your neighbour.

M.S.

## Suggestions for WOMEN'S MEETINGS

IN a working-class district the difficulty of getting women who are members, or women who are interested, to come to PPU group meetings, is a very real one.

First they are too tired at the end of a day, after coping with housework, shopping, meals, and children, to make the effort to come to a meeting; and second, if they are not too weary, they are unable to leave their homes.

There may be small children who cannot be left, there may be husbands working awkward hours who have to have meals at night. In our district we find it almost impossible to get women members who can attend regularly, although we have many

### VIOLENCE BEGETS VIOLENCE

ABOLISH THE DEATH PENALTY  
Free information, literature, and speakers for P.P.U. group meetings, supplied on application to the secretary.  
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY  
Parliament Buildings, Victoria St., London, S.W.1

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W. Douglas Hamblin  
examines

## The Fighting Instinct

THE general and oft-repeated statement, "Human nature being what it is," suggests the inquiry, "What is it?"

Modern psychology and the modern interpretation of Christianity, although they differ in language, certainly agree that human nature can be changed.

Our original instincts do not explain human nature, for that which commences in the child as purely self-regarding and self-preserving instincts, gradually grows into other-regarding sentiments with the child's moral development, until the original instincts may be, in some cases, redirected to outward expression in some form of communal service.

### Expression of Instincts

Psychologists are not always in agreement about the exact function of instincts in human beings, except that instincts are usually associated with feeling and produce energy toward certain ends. For example, the fighting instinct is associated with anger and resentment, but if we have a difference with another person we do not in these days express our feelings in a primitive way and knock each other about, or fight a duel; we argue or, in extreme cases, seek justice through the process of law.

The contribution of psychology, however, does demonstrate that our so-called instincts may be recognized for what they are and be deliberately redirected to good ends.

★

IT is the fighting instinct that produces the fundamental energy in man's conflict with nature as illustrated in the rescue work of our national life-boat service.

Is it not this same instinct, raised to higher ends that is expressed in the dogged determination of Gandhi's non-violent methods and in pacifist propaganda?

In addition to our primitive instincts, which go back to the beginning of man, we have, too, our social inheritance, that is, the accepted standards of social conduct. In many directions we have made progress from the standards accepted by our ancestors. How have these developments been brought about?

### Begin With Individual

I believe that all great movements have their roots in an individual originator. Ideas and ideals spread from the individual to the group, from the smaller group to the larger, until, in time, the standard of the individual may become the standard of the community.

The vindication of the pacifist attitude lies in this, that he cannot agree that there should be one moral standard for the individual and another for the State, because he sees that ultimately the community is simply an aggregate of individuals.

★

WE cannot abolish the fighting instinct, but I sincerely believe it can be converted to other ends.

What better way than to harness its force and energy against the institution of war, since war is surely an anachronism for civilized men?

In civilized man the pugnacious instinct expresses itself through moral indignation, and its energy and power is a necessity in the moral strife against war.

### War Not Natural

It is very doubtful if modern war could be described as a natural expression of the fighting instinct, since the method of war has changed so drastically and diabolically

## The Younger Generation

# SCOUTS SHOULD RENOUNCE WAR

says

Maurice Fuzzard  
(aged fifteen)

Our life has always seemed to me to be like the flight of a sparrow through the great hall, when one is sitting at meals with the log fire blazing in the hearth, while all is storm and darkness outside. He comes in, no-one knows from where, and hovers for a short time in the warmth and the light, and then flies forth into the darkness. And so it is with man; he comes no-one knows from where, he is in the world for a short time, till he flies forth again, no-one knows whither.

But now you show us that if we do our duty during our life we shall not fly out into darkness again, when life is ended, since Christ has opened a door for us to enter a brighter room, a heaven, where we can go and dwell in Peace for ever.

THUS wrote our chief in *Scouting for Boys*, quoting a warrior on the coming of Christianity to this country.

Religion seems a very simple thing—

Firstly, to trust in God;

Secondly, to do good to other people.

**Duty to God.**—It is the duty of every Scout to find out what his duty to God means, and how he can best live up to it. The Scouting world has a big responsibility in the influencing of other boys, as is laid down by the Chief:

Here in this joyous brotherhood there is vast opportunity open to all in a happy work that shows results under hands, and a work that is worth while, because it gives every man his chance of service for his fellow men and for God.

Every Christian should "renounce the devil and all his works." War is of the devil.

We are told that to renounce war is to put our country into a dangerous position, an enemy might walk in, our brother Scouts might come and gas us; they might come and take us as slaves, take our produce, or rob the Bank of England.

Would they? Their own people would grumble at cheap foreign labour, at cheap imported foreign goods, and if they robbed our bank the whole world money system would be sent wrong.

Then perhaps they would make us a colony? That would be infinitely better than a war, thousands dead, millions lame,

from the hand-to-hand combats of the Middle Ages.

In the animal the emotion of anger arouses the fighting instinct—in defence of its young, or through hunger, when the animal preys on some other species; but man is the only creature on earth who organizes the mass slaughter of his own species.

Those who assert that the natural expression of human nature is necessarily evil overlook the fact that through the ages human nature has been influenced by ethical development, that such words as "humane" and "humanitarian" have a very definite meaning and that it is human to express good will, to be kind and to forgive—as well as to be angry, resentful, or cruel!

★

I HAVE tried to show that the fighting instinct may be used to combat all social evils. The courage and endurance needed in this type of combat can only be gauged by those men who have endeavoured to remain true to their spiritual vision, whatever that vision may have been. To "follow the gleam" is not an easy road; it requires self-abandonment and whole-hearted concentration on the object in view.

While it remains true that conflict is a condition of man's environment and strife a part of man's nature, it is also true that the objects for which he uses his powers are his to choose.



Members of "this joyous brotherhood" in camp. Here is the promise they make on entering the movement:

On my honour I promise—  
To do my duty to God and the King;  
To help other people at all times;  
and  
To obey the Scout Law.

gassed, and bombed.

Can a Scout who has promised to be "Helpful at all times" take part in this anti-Christian delirium?

A true Christian would not steal. Why? Because it is written "Thou shalt not steal." But that same Christian would excuse himself from the bigger command "Thou shalt not kill"! Christ set us a path to tread and a shining example to live up to, which must be trod and lived up to if we mean to keep our Tenderfoot promise of duty to God.

Written across this path is "Peace." It is a hard path, but Christians should "be prepared" to do hard things. There is an easier path marked "War." Some Scouts have taken this, and many more are about to. We brother Scouts must stop them, and point out the duty to God. It is worth the little persecution of this narrow path to reach the Kingdom everlasting, of which Christ would have us be members.

There is one duty to God and that is to preach Christ crucified, and him pacifist, and to trust that his arm is sure and enough.

**To do good to other People.**—Talking about the knights of old, the Chief says:

Besides worshipping God in church the knights always recognized his work in things that he made, such as the animals, plants, and scenery. And so it is with peace Scouts today. No man can be much good unless he believes in God, and obeys his laws.

We as Scouts should carry on the work of the knights; we are their successors. It is our duty to help other people at all times, to show them the Christian spirit, not what a white man can do with bombs and gas.

There is only one way to help other people in regard to war, and that is to make the world a fit place for them to live in Christian harmony and peace, and the only way to get this is by setting the example, and taking the lead in living Christian lives, and showing that pacifism will "work."

As a Scout I appeal to all in our great brotherhood to put into practice their Tenderfoot promise, and renounce war.

## DR. MONTESSORI TEACHES THE TEACHER

From a Correspondent

Scottish and English teachers, together with representatives from many European countries spent five days studying the Montessori method at a congress in Edinburgh.

Dr. Montessori, who gave a course of five lectures, has had her schools closed, her apparatus confiscated, and her books banned in all the dictator States.

Dr. Montessori has worked out a system of education that allows the child to grow up with the perfect mental health which, just as much as physical health, is his birthright.

Hardened cynics who have visited a Montessori school to observe a "beagarden" have often discovered a little Utopia, and have gone away with a changed idea of human nature.

The Montessori system has the divine simplicity of all really great discoveries and the

He stood there in the sunny street, cap and tray in hand. Motors hooted, people passed by...

Prompted by the dual emotions of pity and greed for an interesting "story," I gave him my card.

A few days later he wrote to me. The phraseology of the article following is mine. The tragic story belongs only to him.

H. AVELINE-PERKINS

## THEY PASS ME BY on the other side by a Matchseller

HERE they come, these warm and well-fed-looking humans, each one intent on his own problem and personality. Not one glances my way. Not one in a thousand. Why should they? After all, they would be ruined if they gave sixpence to every ragged man gripping a tray of matches. There are so many of us.

I fought for you in the War. I lost a leg for you. Both my sons were killed. My wife, too, is dead; dead of the bounty of a government so generous that she starved in a foul slum while leg and sons were ripped away from me.

I did all this for you. What have you done for me?

THIS is the result of all my patriotism.

Patriotism, did I say? Rather the stupidest, the maddest action of my life.

Oh! England we did not fight for you, nor did we fight, kill, for the grand, the marvellous ideals which those in high places had led us to believe.

No, we were maimed, blinded, blown to pieces on 10,000 corpse-huddled battlefields just for this: that the fat might grow more fat; that the high should climb still higher, up monstrous escalators oiled and greased with our blood, my blood; that one selfish clique might profit by our credulity.

PLEASE do not pity me. I am dead, I am not alive like you, and you, and those two children with their mother over there. I am just a walking war memorial to war's vast, monstrous stupidity.

I died in France; twenty years ago.

## B.B.C. Did Not Forget Lesson of 1914

THE BBC fittingly marked the anniversary of Britain's entry into the War with "Scrapbook for 1914" on Thursday of last week.

The programme was up to the usual high standard of the "Scrapbook" series, but special mention must be made of the very appropriate conclusion.

After a reconstruction of the spontaneous fraternization in No Man's Land on the Christmas Day in 1914, the responsibility of this generation was brought home to listeners and the programme ended with these lines:—

Are they gathered there tonight  
In their Eternal No Man's Land,  
Beyond our purblind human sight?  
What are they saying, ghost to ghost,  
Youthful, never-aging host?  
How shall we look them in the face,  
We who are left to run the race?  
Ours was the world for which they bled:  
Have we redeemed the price?  
Or must the hosts in Flanders mourn  
Their still-born sacrifice?

The verse was by Leslie Bailey, one of those responsible for the production of the BBC "Scrapbooks."



## Pacifism and the Class War

OUR MISSION IS TO  
THE OWNERS

THE pacifist who is only concerned with international war, and ignores the class war going on around him, is evidently living in an unreal world of his own imagining. Many pacifists, on the other hand, regard the class war as the more fundamental of the two, and are convinced that if it could be ended, international war would automatically cease.

## THE CONFLICT

CLASS war is the antagonism between the two classes, of those who share in ownership of the sources of requirements of the community and those who do not. ("Sources of the requirements of the community" include land, houses, factories, machinery, mines, herds, grain, timber, and all transport).

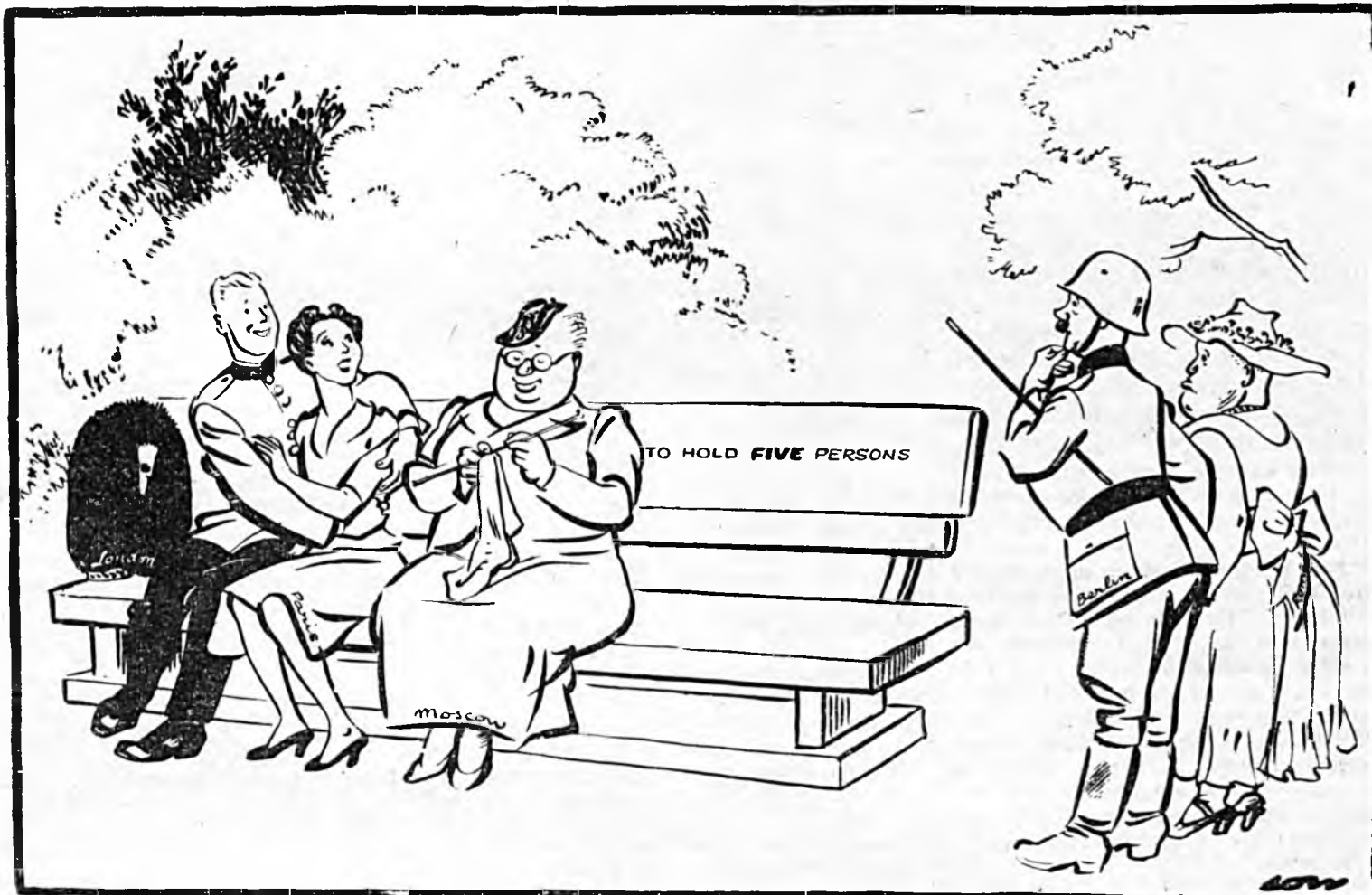
The owners obtain an income from their

says  
**Caecilia E. M. Pugh,**  
in an article on the subject  
raised by Cecil W. Davies on  
July 2.

circumstances, has its outcome in the industrial strife which is going on unobtrusively and relentlessly on both sides all the time, and which occasionally breaks out more openly in the form of wage-cuts or strikes.

## SOLUTION

WHAT is the function of the pacifist in the class war? Obviously he should ultimately work to-



SIT DOWN, FRIENDS, IT ISN'T PRIVATE.

Courtesy, "Evening Standard."

ownership, for allowing the requirements of the community to be produced, but the non-owners have no such source of income and can exist only by charity or by getting someone to pay them for work.

Nowadays, machinery is producing abundance of goods, but the work of the people who need these goods is not wanted, and they are therefore unable to buy them. The owners, unless they get paid, cannot allow production to go on at a loss, and there results, therefore, a scramble for markets at home and abroad.

The more territory and control a nation has in undeveloped parts of the world where there is not already machinery and abundance of goods, the more markets it has available, the greater the prosperity of the owners in that nation, and the employment they can give to the non-owners.

Private ownership of the sources of the requirements of the community thus leads to a policy of tariffs and imperialism and ultimately to international war.

## INDUSTRIAL STRIFE

AT home the interests of the owners and non-owners are always in opposition, the owners prospering when selling prices are high, wages low, hours long, and machinery doing as much of the work as possible, and the non-owners prospering when wages are high, working hours short, and prices low.

This antagonism, inevitable in the

ward the setting up of a system on the only possible ethically righteous basis, common ownership of all sources of the requirements of the community.

Everyone would then share in the ownership of the products, in return for work, and this would always be available so long as goods were wanted. There would be no scramble for markets.

Must the pacifist, then, encourage and help the non-owners to get such a state of things? How can this be done without violence?

## PACIFIST'S FUNCTION

THE function of the pacifist in the class war is rather to address himself to the aggressors in that war, namely the owners, who, by their ownership in a highly mechanized age, prevent others who need goods from access to the sources of them.

His task is to persuade owners that a system on such a basis is immoral, and to prepare them to consent to putting an end to their privileged position, the cessation of their state of aggression, and the end of class war.

In the class war, it is the owner who needs converting to non-aggression—to *ahimsa*, harmlessness—to a change by which he shall no longer occupy a position harmful to the community. This is the

task of the pacifist.

To one who believes in the essential goodness of human nature, in the willingness of every man to make sacrifices in order to live and let live, the task is a joyous and hopeful one.

## PROPOSED CAMPAIGN

MY belief is that the way of pacifism is to try to find and bring to life the spark of divinity which is in all. Preaching pacifism to the dispossessed, one is obliged either to suppress enlightenment as to the cause of war, poverty, and unemployment, or risk inciting people to violence. I should therefore like to see a campaign launched for signatures to some such declaration as the following, and I would like to hear from anybody who thinks such a campaign practicable:

I own at least £300, or possessions of that value.

As an essential step toward the abolition of war, poverty, and unemployment, I desire common ownership, in which everyone shall share, of all sources of the essential requirements of people.

I would agree to payment of partial compensation to those whose possessions are taken over.

Our appeal would be to the owners; therefore, the more successful our campaign the more speedy and peaceful the change toward a warless world. I believe this to be the task of the pacifist in the class war.

ARTHUR WRAGG

on the

Danger of Assuming  
We're Always Right

IN my last article I tried to draw attention to the danger of becoming pacifist bores, and I feel that the remaining two articles are going to discuss similar phenomena that occur *inside* ourselves.

It struck me the other day that few of us know how deeply our subconscious self-persuasion goes.

I was sitting on some rocks in Cornwall on one of those shimmering hot days when everything but the sea lies beating in hot sun, and talking to two people who, I am sure, are the gentlest souls extant. Naturally the talk veered round to politics, and from that to Russia, and then to the recent Soviet executions. My companions were ardent supporters of the Soviet régime, and were staunchly defending the Soviet

decision, holding that execution of the prisoners was the only course to take.

Yet, in past years, sitting on these same rocks, I had heard these same people extolling these men to the skies. "Can you," I said, "so easily believe the astonishing charges laid against these past heroes of yours, and even if you do believe them, how can you so heartily agree with their execution?"

But it was no good, the Soviet is always right, even against itself and its own men. These two worthy people would not allow themselves to see any weakness or any fault in the thing they held so close at heart. It might have been the beginning of a small crack in the large structure of their belief, so they turned their faces against it. One can understand them so well, and can sympathize.

But to what an abysmal distortion of truth this subconscious self-persuasion can lead! Almost all good causes have been lost through it, Christianity not least among them.

★

HOW can we, as pacifists, beware of this same fault? Do we not meet pacifists already who believe the pacifist can do no wrong?

And a great many pacifists do not know that sincerity in its very truest sense exists in people of opposing thought. They suspect them of either being misled, or blind,

## Second of three articles

## under the heading

## "Speaking Personally"

or deliberately shutting their eyes to the true facts. On the contrary, I am sure they believe themselves to be as correct and conscientious in their views as pacifists are in theirs, and no less careful of humanitarian principles in arriving at their conclusions. It is only by luck that many of us have shaped our opinions opposite to theirs.

It is no good at all to impress on your neighbour your own conviction that you are always right. No intelligent human being can take on such an attitude and have any effect on those he meets.

It is more urgent to arouse misgivings and self-questionings than to come away victorious in argument. Every discussion should be a shot at truth, and not at one's opponent.

The first person to argue with, then, is oneself—always being careful to give oneself full reign, uncluttered by subconscious self-persuasion, for we can persuade ourselves of anything if we like, and be all the more negative when it comes to persuading others.

It is wise, I think, to be wary of accepting every pacifist argument, no matter what authority is speaking. By no means all of us are able to detect what weaknesses there may be in arguments regarding, say, aerial bombardment, civilian morale, and so on. All these are unknown quantities, and are capable of contradiction by events themselves, yet many pacifists have fixed convictions about them in advance. Just as the wish is father to the thought, so the conviction is mother to the argument!

★

WHAT we have to recognize is the fact of faith in pacifism. To us it is innate common sense, and in this instinct we find that current events tend to prove our conviction right.

But it is sheer stupidity to pretend that every event proves it. And it is still worse to predetermine future events in favour of our beliefs.

So, in admitting this, we shall be able to see the sense, at least, in our opponent's arguments, and in this understanding shall be doubly armed against deceiving ourselves. So, next to being boring, our greatest enemy from within is foolish infallibility.



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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

August 13, 1938

## THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

THE unexpected return of the PRIME MINISTER to London when his fishing holiday had only just begun may fairly safely be taken as indicating that some developments have occurred in one or more of the political subjects which MR. CHAMBERLAIN may have hoped to be able just to think about quietly.

It must not be forgotten that he spoke in Parliament as if the Anglo-Italian agreement might come into operation during the recess, though he didn't think it would necessarily necessitate the calling of Parliament even if it did. That was in spite of the fact that the withdrawal of "volunteers"—the condition generally, though not definitely, understood to be meant by "a settlement in Spain"—could not be effected before Parliament reassembled even if the British plan worked smoothly. Actually, it hasn't even been accepted yet by the rebels.

It is thus fairly obvious that one matter at least which is engaging MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S special attention is GENERAL FRANCO'S delaying tactics—whether the PREMIER'S concern is for the speedy withdrawal of volunteers or for the stemming of French impatience over the continued disadvantage to the Spanish Government of the closed Pyrenean frontier, without any sign of a consequent improvement in relations with Italy.

But if MR. CHAMBERLAIN is taking steps to ease the "ratification" of the Anglo-Italian agreement by methods which will necessitate its being put through while the Parliamentary watch-dog is not looking, there is at least one other (and possibly not entirely unconnected) measure which can similarly only be put through while those opposed to it are not looking, and which may, therefore, also be engaging his special attention. This is the proposal for a national register.

Even if it cannot be actually introduced while the vigilantes are on holiday, such pressure may be put on the PREMIER that by the time it again becomes a live issue, probably in the autumn, it will have gone so far that it will be almost impossible to prevent its being brought in. The pledge that this Government will not introduce conscription in peace time need not deter it, since the national register would not be conscription but "only" a big step toward it.

With professing Liberals like SIR WALTER LAYTON advocating a national register, the real lovers of freedom for the individual will have to keep a sharp watch on tendencies and be ever ready to make their voices heard. Nor is it only the uncertain actions of the Government and leading public figures that need to be watched. A report which we publish on page one of this issue shows that something very like threats of conscription for air raid precautions are already hanging over the heads of some of those who, by reason of their employment by local authorities, are already on the local "register."

Any acquiescence in so-called defence measures—whether active or passive—will make opposition to threats of conscription impossible or meaningless. It is therefore up to pacifists to take the lead against all such tendencies, both locally and nationally, as part of the campaign against war in which they are already leading.

## VERA BRITTAIN on

## What Pacifist Writers

## Might Have to Face



Vera Brittain addressing the Peace Pledge Union's Manifesto demonstration in Hyde Park.

to the press) that the comparatively harmless limitations placed upon their work by neglect and omission might quickly be replaced, in a time of national hysteria, by fines, imprisonment, and other methods of persecution without any breach of English law.

As a letter-writer to the *Manchester Guardian* stated earlier this year: "The fear of fascism abroad is making people blind to the increasing machinery for establishing fascism at home."

IN the space at my disposal I cannot describe in detail the various measures by means of which a growth of totalitarianism might threaten the writer who disseminates unpopular opinions. I can only indicate their nature and suggest that anyone likely to be threatened should investigate them in greater detail for himself.

The fact that pacifist writers are willing to suffer for their beliefs should not deprive them of the common sense which ascertains in advance what the cost is likely to be. A threat of fines suggests the wisdom of establishing a Fines Fund; a risk of imprisonment indicates provisional arrangements for a dependent family.

The National Council for Civil Liberties—an invaluable organization for safeguarding the rights of minorities which any author whose views are not those of the "official" majority should join—can supply the particulars which I am obliged to omit relating to any of the authoritarian expedients mentioned.

ENORMOUS limitations—regarded with surprise by the less restricted democracy of the United States—are placed by the Libel Laws on freedom of expression among British writers.

These are by no means only invoked for their ostensible purpose of restraining authors from making defamatory statements. But the pacifist writer, who is less likely to attack individuals than to support or oppose principles, runs greater risks from the common Law of Sedition, a form of legislation which is extremely wide in its scope.

Since it covers anything which may bring the King or the government into contempt, or cause ill will among different classes of His Majesty's subjects, it is a potential danger to every author with progressive opinions.

Though this law is not commonly invoked against orthodox writers in England, similar provisions have been incorporated into statute laws and ordinances of numerous British colonies and possessions, where they are sometimes

used to repress the opinions and criticisms of native journalists.

In December, 1936, Mr. Wallace Johnson, a native of Sierra Leone, residing in the Gold Coast who was then Organizing Secretary of the West African Youth League, was prosecuted for sedition under one of these ordinances. For writing an article entitled: "Has the African a God?" he was fined £50.

The common Law of Sedition should not be confused with the so-called "Sedition Act" which is properly entitled the Incitement to Disaffection Act, 1934. Though this Act underwent considerable amendment before it was finally passed, a pacifist author could still be prosecuted under it for the writing of any book, pamphlet, newspaper, or private letter which could be proved to have seduced "any member of His Majesty's Forces from his duty or allegiance."

THE recent alleged threat of its use against Mr. Duncan Sandys, MP, has brought another dangerous measure, the Official Secrets Act, into salutary daylight. The first and second of these Acts, in 1889 and 1911, were exclusively concerned with matters of national safety, and when the second was amended in 1920, the Attorney-General (the present Lord Chief Justice) re-emphasized its connexion with spying.

Yet its use, in the spring of this year, against a Stockport journalist, Mr. E. D. G. Lewis, who had written an article based upon a confidential police document, shows the manner in which it could be employed against a pacifist whose writings upon, for instance, ARP or disarmament, might be supposed to have been inspired by secret information.

Less obvious forms of censorship, such as "requests" or "private instructions" issued from government departments, could easily be used in a time of crisis to give an unpopular colouration to newspaper accounts of pacifist activities. Misrepresentations of every type were part of the persecution to which conscientious objectors were submitted during the Great War.

The importance cannot be over-emphasized of extreme vigilance, and the full use of such machinery as exists for self-defence, on the part of every writer whose opinions are likely at any time to bring him into conflict with the entrenched forces of government authority.

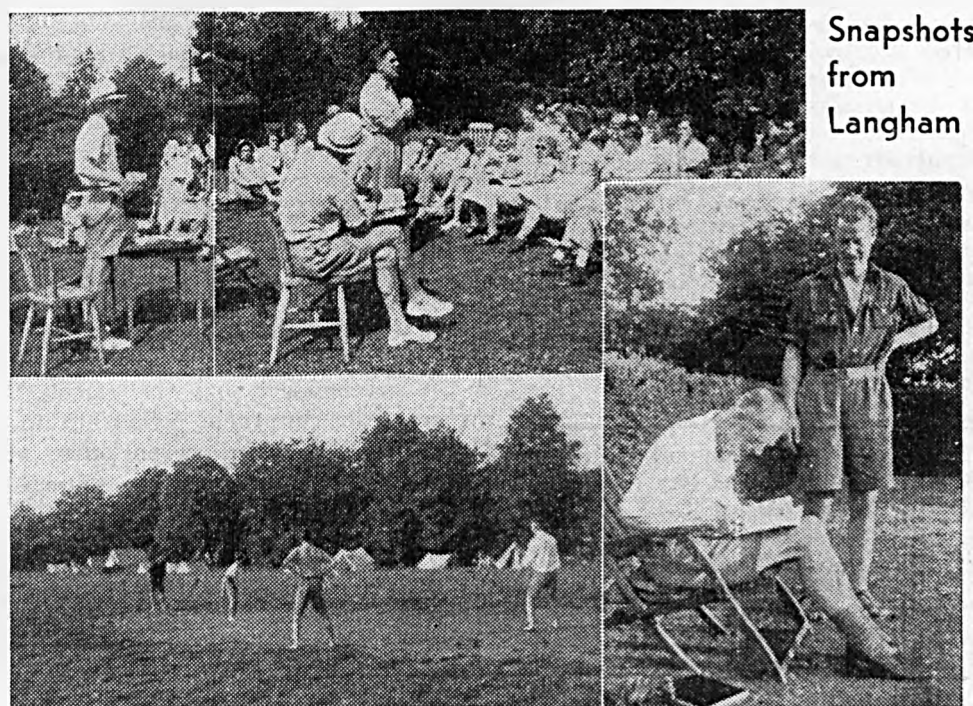
AT the present moment pacifist writers and speakers, like members of other minorities, are relatively free to say whatever they wish. This does not mean that the principle which might be described as "equality of dissemination" is applied to their remarks.

Every member of the Peace Pledge Union is familiar with the method of "censorship by omission" which operates to exclude conspicuous reports of PPU meetings from the national press.

This method is constantly employed in one of two ways. Either individuals whose words or writings would normally attract attention are disregarded when their energies centre round pacifism, or else the individuals themselves are given publicity while the precise activity in which they are engaged is carefully left undivulged.

These varieties of press ostracism usually arouse in PPU members a feeling of wry amusement mingled with mild exasperation.

It is perhaps not generally known among pacifist writers (who include, of course, not merely authors with names familiar to the public, but every writer of pacifist articles, pamphlets, and letters



Snapshots from  
Langham

Photographs taken at the summer conference of the Peace Pledge Union at Basque House (shown on opposite page), Langham, last week:

TOP LEFT: John Barclay. TOP RIGHT: Kingsley Martin (editor of "New Statesman & Nation"), lecturing on "The Freedom of the Press. BOTTOM LEFT: The camping field. BOTTOM RIGHT: Maurice Rowntree and Kenneth Lee.



## S. African Church Asked to Declare on Pacifism

### TWO NEW SECTIONS FOR W.R.I.

**A** RESOLUTION asking the Natal (South Africa) Diocesan Synod to declare its refusal to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war, will come before the synod during the first week in September.

The text of the resolution (reports the War Resisters' International) will be as follows:—

Recognizing that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is a Gospel of non-violent action, and that in his supreme sacrifice on the Cross he demonstrated for all time the divine way of overcoming evil, Synod declares its allegiance to this way of the Master, and is determined not to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war.

## An English Churchman's View

Commenting on the resolution, Canon Stuart D. Morris, of Birmingham, said to PEACE NEWS:—

**I** AM interested to learn that a pacifist resolution is to be put before the next meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Natal.

There is a challenging directness about this which can only be avoided at the cost of evading the supreme enactment of the method of God's love.

It is scarcely possible that a Diocesan Synod can fail to recognize, as the resolution asserts, that the way of the gospel story is the way of love, positive and constructive in its results.

Even the quotation (or, as it often is, the mis-quotation) of isolated texts cannot gainsay the clear impression of the whole tenor of Christ's purpose.

Christ crucified remains the eternal witness to the fact that God wins his victories by a readiness to accept defeat at the hands of man. Christ risen justifies the assertion that it is only the love which endures all things and never fails that can win any victory upon which the blessing of God can be asked. Christ ascended claims the full lordship over man's life and it is his claim which has to stand when any conflict of loyalties should arise.

To doubt this is not heresy but treachery. But if the cross is the symbol of the method—love—it is also the rendering of the cost—at any cost.

The price of peace is to be seen not only in terms of new policies of economic and political appeasement, which mean sacrifices and involve risk, but also in the much more personal terms of a decision that is marked with the cross. It is difficult to see how the Synod can logically fail to accept the conclusion of this resolution unless it is prepared to deny the opening assertion.

It is much to be hoped that there will be a sufficient number present, who, having come to the conclusion that pacifism is inherent in Christianity, will strengthen the hands of other pacifists and help to redeem the witness of the Church by the testimony of their faith as they pledge themselves to renounce the old discredited method of violence and to give redeeming love the opportunity for which He waits.

### Result of Many Years' Work

**T**HE WRI also reports the formation of sections of the International in South Africa—one at Durban and one at Pietermaritzburg.

The formation of these two sections, it is revealed in *The War Resister*, comes after many years of hard work and the persistent following up of personal contacts, and was in the end largely due to the work of those

who are now their secretaries (Mrs. Elsie Clayton, 7 Enfield Court, Umbilo Road, Durban; and Miss Elsie Ireland, P.O. Box 323, Pietermaritzburg).

Considerable press publicity followed pacifist meetings held in Durban last October, and, immediately after wreaths were laid on the cenotaph on Armistice Day, permission given for a peace meeting to be held on the same spot.

In Pietermaritzburg, too, good work has been done. A resolution declaring "that international peace can best be secured by non-violent methods," moved by the chairman of the new WRI section there, Miss Marjorie Fleming, was carried by a vote of four to one at the Town Debating Society.

## How China Could Resist

**A** REPLY sent by Captain Philip Mumford, on behalf of the War Resisters' International, to a Chinese friend who urged action on behalf of China, is quoted in the current issue of "The War Resister."

"Doubtless you have already realized," writes Captain Mumford, "that your enemy is the Japanese Government and not the Japanese peasants and soldiers."

"Yet if you use ordinary military methods of defending your country it is these guiltless people who are not your enemies that you must kill. If only China would try and preserve herself by the non-violent tactics used by Gandhi in India . . . she would, I venture to say, be far more successful than she will be copying the militarist methods of Europe."

"Pacifism will not spare you from all suffering, but in the long run it is, I believe, a more effective weapon against the would-be conqueror than all your fighting forces and, what is most important, it will keep alive the ideals of your race."

## This Church Would Be Open in An Air Raid

—FOR PENITENCE

**P**AX, Roman Catholic peace association, is taking steps to bring before the attention of every parish priest in the country (about 3,000) a notice outside the Church of St. Michael, in Lewes, Sussex.

This notice declares that, in the event of air raids, the church will be open day and night, the parish priest being in attendance. It adds that the Sacraments will be available, and that time will be spent in prayer, &c., and in penitence for sin, rational as well as private; above all, in repentance for the corporate sin of war.

### CATHOLICS CONDEMN ARP

This action is the outcome of a Pax meeting at which a resolution declaring that

While affirming the Christian duty of succouring the wounded in time of war, Pax refuses to support the Government programme of ARP, inasmuch as it does not fulfil this Christian duty but promotes a war mentality was carried by nineteen votes to three. Among those supporting the resolution was Mr. Eric Gill, the sculptor.

(A new issue of the "Pax Bulletin" has just appeared and is obtainable from the Hon. Secretary, 17 Red Lion Passage, London, W.C.1.)

## WHAT FRIENDS CAN DO IN LABOUR PARTY

The cause of pacifism within the Labour Party is likely to be strengthened by steps now being taken among members of the Society of Friends.

Over a hundred Friends have intimated that they are members of the Labour Party and have expressed an interest in the possible formation of a Quaker Labour group.

Early this year a small meeting of such Friends was held in London and approved a minute expressing their "conviction that, despite difficulties, Labour Friends should continue their membership and support of the party," and that "Labour Friends could do much to lead the Party to a higher idealism."

A subsequent meeting declared that "as a first step, we believe it would be helpful for Friends who are Labour Party members to be linked together in a Quaker Labour Group."

Interested Friends who have not already done so should send their names to Cyril W. Dumbleton, 307 Hatfield Road, St. Albans, Herts.



A view of Basque House, Langham, taken during the Peace Pledge Union summer conference there last week.

## IDEAS FOR A BRIGHTER

### NAVY WEEK

For there's nobody there to remind him that there are such things as high explosive bombs that seem strangely absent from ARP demonstrations . . . !

#### RECRUITING PROPAGANDA

And young Tommy Taxpayer meanwhile is gazing open-mouthed at bombing planes sweeping down on to H.M.S. Sheffield. There are vigorous exchanges, guns roar, shells scream across the basin, a landing-party leaves the cruiser, gas-masked and shrapnel-helmeted.

"Coo, I'm going to be a sailor or an airman when I grow up, and I'll do things like that," decides Tommy, and another victim has succumbed to the wiles of unscrupulous recruiting propaganda.

But why doesn't Navy Week tell the whole story of the Navy? Why not an exhibition of the sequel to that clash between cruiser and raiding bombers? Why not a few twisted bodies, ugly in sudden death?

Dummy corpses could be made very realistically from the real ones that lie scattered over the battlefields of Spain and China.

Or why not a procession of some of the heroes who survived the mass butchery of 1914-1918: men with one arm, perforated lungs, crutches instead of legs, white walking sticks that tell the world they have forgotten what sunshine is like or why the heart leaps at sight of a woodland glade aglow with primroses . . .

Or why not a procession of hunger-marchers, a queue from outside any Labour Exchange, a handful of women standing expressionless in the mud of street corners, shrivelled caricatures of babies at their breasts . . .

**D**URING the first week in August something like a hundred thousand people passed through the gates of Chatham Dockyard. Likewise at the other Royal Dockyards, making at a rough estimate a total of 300,000 visitors to Navy Week.

Three hundred thousand people. What did they go to see? What impressions did they bring away with them? What, in short, is the function of this "national institution"?

Well, perhaps they went to find out what all their money is being spent on in the latest lap of the armaments race. And nobody can blame them for that.

But is that what Navy Week organizers want them to see?

What then? Much is said in the official programme showing the public the everyday life of the sailor. Is that . . . ?

No. The only truth there is in that is that certain of the pleasanter aspects of life afloat are ingeniously displayed, with the oh, so clear intention of luring young men with more spirit than judgment into joining up. In short, just one more subtle recruiting racket!

#### A DOSE OF PRIDE

No, the real object of Navy Week, as usual, is to give the Great British Public a large dose of pride, not to mention a nice sugar-coated security pill.

Lines of polished cruisers and destroyers . . . guns glinting . . . the Union Jack floating proudly in the breeze . . . officers bristling with efficiency . . . Britannia still rules the waves . . . Yes, we've seen it all before! But John Taxpayer still puffs out his chest as he gazes at it.

"It's worth all it costs," he remarks to Mary Taxpayer. "And as for security," he goes on, "why look at this demonstration of ARP work. It's the easiest thing in the world to deal with these gas bombs!"

At a press luncheon at Chatham Dockyard a few days ago, one of the organizers told me they were on the look-out for some new ideas to keep up the attendance figures. I cordially make them a free present of these suggestions for a brighter, not to mention a more truthful, Navy Week programme.

Noel F. Cohen

## PACIFISTS TOLD IT (NEAR) TO MARINES

From Our Own Correspondent

In the face of a Royal Marine band escorted by marines with bayoneted rifles at the slope, PPU members distributed leaflets at the entrance to Portsmouth Dockyard on Saturday—the last day of Navy Week. On the whole the reception was not hostile, though there were the usual altercations with militaristic individuals.

Eight pacifists took part in the distribution which was also carried out at another gate of the dockyard. Besides Portsmouth members, PPU folk came from Winchester and Alton.

Afterward there was a short poster parade along Southsea front.

Sir Thomas Inskip spoke at the opening of Navy Week in Portsmouth, and called it "Britain's best bob's-worth."

Attendances on the final day at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, were 10,525 more than on the corresponding day last year. The respective totals were 21,621, 11,316, and 19,296.

### NEW "RECALL TO RELIGION" POSTER

Another poster has been issued with the heading "Recall to Religion." It reads:

Peace and righteousness are inseparable. If a seeming conflict should arise between the claims of Christ's service and that of the State, it is to him that our supreme loyalty should be given whatever the consequence.

The poster is published by Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds, and Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Get to know  
**ALLY SOL**



## Under the Oak Tree

By LEONARD READ

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

HERE is a small group of snapshots or, as they used to be called, vignettes, taken during the last week or two.

We had been on a cycle ride, as is our custom at the weekend, over the hills and across the vales, by villages and farms. The change of scenery and the delightful views of ripening crops had enhanced the pleasure of cycling; as we drew near to the house on our return, the boys picked out familiar landmarks.

Felix remarked half in a mock-gravity yet with an undertone of plain significance "Pero Langham es nuestro querido puebli" (Langham is our beloved village).

Luis has become an angler, by dint of saving pocket money and apprentice shaping of wires and nails and pins in the carpentry cellar. The fish that tamely swim with us in the river had whetted an instinct, and he was passing eager to make the first excursion. Rain was threatening that afternoon and it was decided, upon slender prophetic evidence, not to go.

When rain arrived an hour or so later, I was surprised to see him come up to me, jerk a thumb at the window over his shoulder and shake my hand. Luis as an actor is developing a technique of laconic irony and understatement; the sort of humour often considered peculiarly English.

One of the señoritas who teaches the children began to discourse wistfully about the happy quiet home she had left in Spain and knew was now no more.

Her ideal of contentment was a peaceful sitting room in the evening, a few friends and the family together, some reading and some sewing, and the wireless playing a concert of chamber music, maybe. This tranquility of harmony was replenishment to the spirit, and it was a sustenance difficult to procure in the house where children were racing, playing, singing, shouting all their waking hours. It is necessary, of course, to be with them all that time and when quiet descends bed is the only acceptable plan.

She was reminded of the desired alternative by seeing precisely such a scene in an English house one evening, as she was passing in the road. The resemblance to home led her to tell of only the mother left there; of both her daughters refugees in alien lands; of one son killed and the other awaiting trial in a military prison.

Of such is the daily fabric of existence here, a cloth of opalescent joys lined with dreads and sighs and sorrows too deep for words.

## BASQUE HOUSE HOLIDAYS

By Dorothy Plowman

THE PPU Summer Conference is over. The Basque children are back home again.

The Most Marvellous Week Ever, for sixty little refugees, is at an end.

But the children themselves must tell you later about their holidays in English homes with their newly-found "families." On their behalf I can only say "thank you" from my heart to all who have made possible for them this precious and unforgettable experience.

Good fairies out of fairy-books have never been more wonder-working than our foster-parents over this holiday. Good angels will never be invoked and remembered with more joy and more love than these, both by the children and by the organizers of the great exodus.

And a crowning delight met the holiday-makers on their return. On the last night of the conference some presentations were made; and I, as representing the absentee hosts of the house, was handed two big packages, a bag, and a paper on which the following words were beautifully inscribed:

To all our friends at Basque House from the conference members of the PPU who spent such a happy week in their lovely house.

The packages contained four large mirrors (our bare bathroom walls had been a source of some tribulation to our guests) and the bag a sum of £2 4s. 7½d. collected by the same kind friends to be spent on whatever else we needed as badly. So next time you come to Basque House we shall hope to make you more comfortable.

Meantime—our love, our thanks, and a hearty welcome whenever you come. Sunday is visiting day, and our guests will be fêted!

# NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

## MIDLANDS

### Handsworth

A PEACE Tent at Handsworth Flower Show, Birmingham, on July 29 and 30 was held with good results and a large amount of free literature was distributed. The organizers were not without their rivals, for an ARP tent was also included in the show. A friendly visit, which first met with resentment, was paid to the ARP tent, but it ended happily with a handshake all round and a promise to pay a return visit before the show ended.

### Northampton

John P. Fletcher will be the speaker at a weekend conference on "Civilization and Pacifism" to be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street, Northampton, on September 17 and 18. The general subject of the conference will be discussed under three headings: "What is Civilization?", "What is Pacifism?", "The Present Crisis."

Mr. Fletcher has been in the forefront of the struggle for peace and liberty for many years—in England during the last

### Student Pacifists and the

### Brotherhood of Man

## Open Letter to Richard Symonds from a Colleague

MAY I be permitted in your columns a rejoinder to the article contributed to the issue of July 23 by my friend and colleague Richard Symonds?

Richard is piqued at the pacifists. With the best intentions he seeks to point a warning finger at our own foibles, at the ills that pacifist flesh is heir to. Obviously he has been, in his own wise words, "turning his eyes inward, intensely cultivating his own soul."

"Pacifists can be very smug," writes Richard, and so easily avoids smugness himself that he freely reveals to us what I fear are serious confusions in his own mind. To clinch matters: if I do not misrepresent Richard his chief complaint against pacifists is that we have no effective counterblast to the slogans of the militarist Left.

### "Platitudinous Slogan"

"We can only," Richard complains, "brandish for our slogan a platitude, the common brotherhood of man." I pressed on to discover what Richard proposed as an alternative to this platitudinous slogan.

In the last sentence I came to the programme: we are invited "to stress the common brotherhood of common men or, if you like, the unity of the working class." The platitude Richard condemns is identical with the original programme, he advocates.

### Not So Common?

Nor is this all. Richard professes to be interested in the common man. Then why does he write in a style which the common man can't understand? (So do I: but I don't conceal the fact.)

He quotes from French, from Will Shakespeare (even parodying a phrase from *Romeo and Juliet* in a way only those acquainted with the text could understand), from Bishop Parker, from Sydney Smith, and so on.

We believe in this amiable Rugbeian, with his massive silk ties, sitting on foreign bridges in the evening sun, visiting "sweetly mediaeval" cities, frowning on "harlequinades of pompous uniforms." This is Richard. But one can scarcely believe that Glamorgan took him quite seriously as he worked on its land settlement.

### Job for "Cosy Circle"

What is the job of able youths like Richard? Obviously replacing the ideas (or "ideologies" as he calls them), which he finds inadequate, by better ideas. For the ideas of the modern world, good and bad ideas, are bourgeois: who, therefore, could be better suited to deal with them than Richard?

As for the proletariat, they are best "got at" by less learned folk than Richard (less learned but of equal worth). Why even I, who spring from the proletariat, cannot communicate to them with any success! For I have joined the cosy circle to which Richard has always belonged—the academic bourgeoisie.

Both of us would have to discard our pretty phrases and our Oxford accents if we were to speak to the people. So let's both cut the cackle.

RUSSELL BENTLEY

war and before that in Australia and New Zealand.

## NORTH-WEST

### Fallowfield

THIS group carried out an experiment recently. Hitherto open-air meetings have been held in Platt Fields, a large park, but members decided to hold a meeting in one of the local parks, Ladybarn Park, with very satisfactory results.

A comparatively small audience listened to the PPU case as put forward by the group leader, Mr. Lionel Cowan, and kept questions going for about 45 minutes. At the end of the meeting it was suggested, from the audience, that a further meeting should be held, and this was agreed to at once.

## SCOTLAND

### Dundee

RECENT activities have included poster parades, door to door distribution of handbills, an open-air meeting, ramble, and several meetings in conjunction with the Student Christian Movement.

Efforts are now being made to secure a shop, or rooms, as future headquarters and propaganda centre. In addition the possibility of setting up an Angus and North Fife Region has been discussed at length.

## SOUTH

### Bournemouth

THE protest of the Bournemouth group against the proposed introduction of militarism into a school, which followed Wilfred Wellock's revelation in PEACE NEWS has kept the controversy in the news. The *Bournemouth Times and Directory* referred to this fact in the issue in which it printed the group's protest.

It went further, however, and said that the statement that training in the suggested cadet corps would be "directed to one end—leadership," was not the best argument in its favour, for "Leadership is just as well learned in the school's Scout troop."

The article added:

It is not considered proper in these days to criticize the training of boys of twelve—or of anyone else for that matter—for war. The whole nation is mobilizing in the same direction, so why stop boys?

A lack of candour seems to us to be the cause of this cadet corps controversy. To say that the corps is for an educational purpose is in our view simply not the fact.

## SOUTH-EAST

### Chatham and Rochester

GROUPS in these towns are going ahead. Rochester group (started in July, 1937), has 20 signatories, and Chatham (started in April of this year) has ten members. Since the formation of the groups discussion circles have been held regularly, public demonstrations have been organized, and the two groups participated in the Medway Towns Peace Week held in

## HOW SCOTLAND WILL PLAY ITS PART

By J. D. MACLEAN Regional Leader, Scotland.

ONLY two representatives from Scotland were able to take an active part in the Manifesto Campaign, but the rest of us, after reading Stuart Morris's article in last week's PEACE NEWS, and John Barclay's equally challenging statements, will be anxious to respond, to take up the challenge and go forward.

Where then do we begin in Scotland?

Stuart Morris made mention of the policy of decentralization, and of the fact that Scotland is now organized as an area. A Scottish area office has been opened in Glasgow. The address is, The Peace Pledge Union, The Albany Chambers, 534, Sauchiehall Street, Charing Cross, Glasgow. The telephone number is Douglas 0463. All Scottish members are invited to visit it at their convenience.

But what does this policy of decentralization mean in effect? In what way will it help forward the pacifist cause? Again Stuart Morris gives the answer. Decentralization is an attempt to emphasize the significance of the individual within the movement. "The whole movement grows out of the pledge of the individual," Morris writes, "in the hands of each of us in some sense rests its honour and its future."

The PPU north of the border, in other words has now been set on its own feet. Our relationship with headquarters will of course be just as constant and, if possible, more vital than in the past, but it must now become one of mutual assistance and cease to be one of dependence on our side and responsibility on the other. Under the policy of the Sponsors, Scottish autonomy means Scottish responsibility. Let us accept it fully.

January.

PEACE NEWS selling in the streets is another branch of activity which they foster. This is done on a regional scale—each group provides several sellers willing to give say one evening a month.

Members are looking forward to the time when groups will be started in Gillingham and Strood.

## SOUTH-WEST

### Devonshire Region

A DEVON rally will take place on September 24 at Dartington Hall, Totnes, a beautiful estate in South Devon. With Dr. Salter as chief speaker, the programme will include a tour over the estate from 4 to 5 p.m.; tea at 5 p.m.; an address by Dr. Salter at 6 p.m., and at 7 p.m., a light entertainment will be arranged by the Director of Music, Dartington Hall.

John Barclay and Harold Bing also hope to be present.

Members are urged to rally round to make this effort a success. All secretaries are asked to start organizing their members at once into small parties or charas, and to notify Mr. E. C. Maddax, 39, Manor Road, Newton Abbot of the number attending.

## Wales Makes the Most of Eisteddfod

From Our Own Correspondent

FULL advantage was taken of the National Eisteddfod of Wales week at Cardiff to spread the message of the PPU among the tens of thousands of visitors to the festival. The centre of operations on the field was a tent, well-covered with slogans, and well-stocked with literature.

From it we sold about 2,000 copies of PEACE NEWS.

We talked to thousands of people about our policy, and distributed tens of thousands of Welsh and English leaflets. Welsh literature and posters published by *Heddychwyr Cymru*, the Welsh Council of the PPU, proved invaluable, as the great majority of visitors were Welsh-speaking. Members from all parts of Wales took part in the work, which was organized by the Cardiff branch, with the cordial co-operation of members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. A good proportion of our pamphlets were sold, and a large number of new signatures obtained.

There are 23 groups in Scotland. Open air meetings are being held regularly in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Ayrshire. Dundee has been busy in Arbroath. Distribution of literature including manifestos has been carried out by relays of people at the Empire Exhibition and elsewhere. PEACE NEWS is being sold by almost every group. Glasgow region has arranged a weekend pacifist school for September which is fully booked up.

The next immediate steps in development will be:

**The Formation of a Scottish Area Council.** For this purpose a delegate conference will be held early in November, to which all groups are invited to appoint representatives. This conference will consider various things, including, lines of work, coordination of activities, finance, &c. Full details will be sent to all groups in due course in preparation of the agenda, and all members are asked to be thorough in their consideration of them.

**Scottish Press Campaign.** This will be conducted from the Scottish Area Office during September and October when letters will be sent out to all local papers drawing attention to the work of the union and in particular to the manifesto. Any members who can supply information concerning local papers, which will be of value in this campaign be requested to do so as soon as possible.

**Series of Meetings.** Groups and regions are asked to consider arranging a series of meetings during October and to prepare for them by poster parades and other forms of advertisement. Requests and arrangements for speakers should be made through the Scottish Office. Fuller details of these various projects will be circularized to groups, but in the meantime, you know where we stand and what we are planning.

Will you do all you can to help? Everyone can do something. The future of the PPU in Scotland is in your Scottish hands.



## UP THE GARDEN PATH

By  
BESOM

HERE is another parody sent me by a reader (E. Rothwell); you can sing this one to the tune of *Trees*:

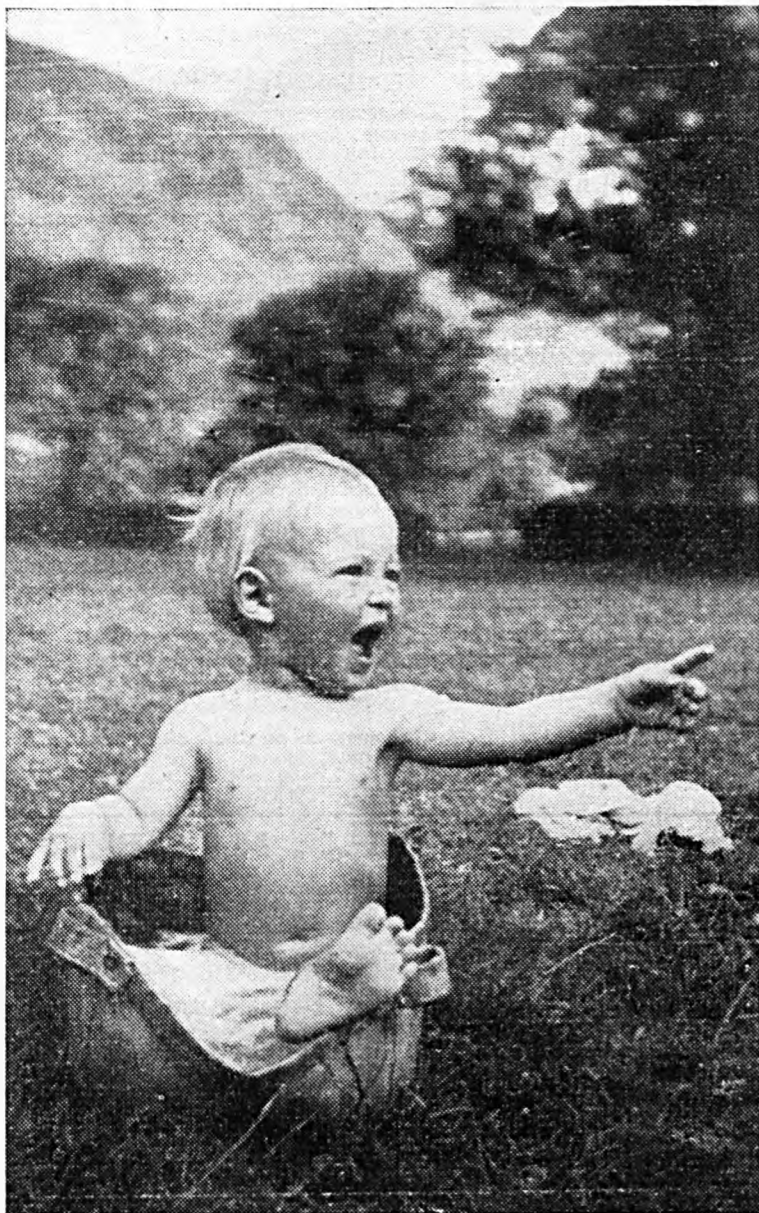
*I never thought that I should see  
So futile thing as A.R.P.  
A bomb-proof shelter here and there,  
When bombers can be everywhere,  
And all because  
Folks would not see  
That mutual trust could set us free.  
I never thought that I should see  
So false a thing as A.R.P.  
We are its cause in other lands,  
Oh! shall we never understand  
That guns and bombs  
And £ s. d.  
Can never hope to set us free?  
I hope we soon shall clearly see  
The jingoism in A.R.P.  
Abolish bombing planes, we'll say,  
Be just and true in every way,  
Renounce all hate  
And jealousy  
Then can the nations brothers be.*

### BETTER STILL

According to the writer of "The Londoner's Diary" in the *Evening Standard*, the late Lady Warwick's stepfather, Lord Rosslyn, asked Disraeli to make him Master of the Buckhounds.

Disraeli refused, saying: "Your command of ruddy language would intimidate the hounds; but do not be disappointed—I'll make you High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland instead."

Which he did.



SENT  
BY A  
READER

'STRIPPED to the waist, and with arm outstretched, the dictator made a fiery speech to the peasants during harvest activities yesterday'—or, at any rate, that's the sort of news item of which this photograph reminds us.

Actually it was taken by a North London reader when holidaying in the Lake District recently.

(We still welcome other interesting pictures from readers.)

## Twenty-one Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*  
August 17, 1917

FROM a speech in the German Parliament by Herr Fehrenbach:

"Passion and hatred are bad advisers. A terribly distorted picture of the German people has been shown, but eventually quiet consideration must once again come to her rights, saying that the German people is a strong and brave people, but that even more than in the arts of war it has distinguished itself in the works of peace."

"When a whole people by a large majority of its representatives expresses in unmistakable fashion its wish for an understanding, and its renunciation of all policy of force by conquests, its honesty ought not to be doubted."

"But is this madness to go on for a fourth year of war? Before our conscience and before God we believe ourselves bound to make an end of this misery, as far as in us lies. No violence done to others would expiate this misery, it would only make a lasting reconciliation of the peoples altogether impossible."

LAD up before the magistrate admitted that he was only fifteen, and that six "soldiers" in his tent were the same age.

"I suppose," said the magistrate, "that now they know his age they will discharge him."

The officer didn't think so!

As long as war is regarded as wicked it will always have its fascinations.

When it is looked upon as vulgar it will cease to be popular.

—Wilde.

## THE ARMS RACE

A Masque  
by  
L. W. FISHER

### SCENE: The Distressed Areas.

Orchestra plays "Land of Hope and Glory." Enter several ungrateful citizens, and the Harmsworth Choir.

1st Citizen: For ten years I've been on the dole!

Comrades, this is a lousy hole.

Choir: He's a RED!

2nd Citizen: We want work!

Choir (cres.) HE'S a red!

3rd Citizen: And at the risk of seeming rude, I wouldn't mind a spot of food!

Choir (ff): HE'S A RED!

Their publicity value having fallen to nothing, owing to world events, they stand disconsolate. Flourish of balalaikas: enter local Communist Comrade.

L.C.C.: Comrades, fling off this capitalistic fetter—

Russia's the country where they do things better.

Citizens (mf) and Choir (ff): Sez you! Flourish of trumpets—"Horst Wessel" and "Giovinezza," followed by "Dick Turpin's Ride." Enter local Blackshirt leader (cries of "Persil").

L.B.L.: Now, workers, listen to our Five-Year Plan.

Say after me: "Sir Oswald is the man."

Citizens (ff) and Choir (mf): Sez you!

Flourish of posters: enter several agents for the three parties—Conservative, Liberal, and Labour. They are ignored. Enter trippingly the National Government.

Govt. Leader: Boys, big news! Britain rearming.

Citizens (wearily): So what?

Leader: Work, boys—work for you!

All (amid loud cheers): Work, boys, work, and be contented.

Exeunt Omnes.

### SCENE: A Woodland Glade.

Flourish of Trumpets. Enter Britannia as Snow White . . . ten lengths ahead of Hitler (as the Witch). She is attended by the Seven Dwarfs.

Happy: I am a manufacturer of arms. I'm Happy, for I thrive on false alarms.

Doc: I represent the League of Nations, Patching up some situations.

Sneezy: I'm thoroughly gas-conscious—I'm a happy gas-mask owner.

I'm putting all my confidence in arms and ARP.

The strange thing is, it doesn't seem to work in Barcelona.

Or China, but such deaths as theirs can never come to me.

Sleepy: I read my daily paper, and I think the world is rotten.

I even do some thinking—the results are soon forgotten.

Dopey: We're Labour, defenders of peace and democracy,

Backing our Neville for all we are worth. Scared of this Nazi and Fascist autocracy. Freedom for ever—You get off the Earth!

Grumpy: I'm just a tax-payer, I'm Strube's little man.

I'm fond of my country, I'll do what I can.

There's one thing that puzzles me—not long ago

The country was broke—all the papers said so.

We've still got the slums, and we've still unemployed.

But when we want arms—well, I'm rather annoyed

To think it's my money they're wasting, it's plain

That money for arms is just poured down the drain!

Bashful: Beneath the shadow of Thy throne Thy saints have dwelt secure.

Sufficient is Thine arm alone

And our defence is sure.

And yet we cannot feel so sure

Of what is yet to be.

And so the modern Christian Church

Trusts arms and ARP.

Snow White passes. The Seven Dwarfs pass. Hitler goes "One Club"—and makes it. He picks up Austria and passes.

Several lengths behind, little Mussolini toils along. They all pass over. Twittering of birds.

(NOTE:—Britannia is Snow White to show the purity of her motives in rearming—support of the League, the Cup, &c., defence of the Empire, the Gaiety, &c.)

### SCENE: The Distressed Areas.

Air Raid in progress. Orchestra plays "Rule Britannia. . ."

"Rule Britannia! Britannia, rules the waves!"

Unfortunately, the foreign outsiders have attacked by air.

Enter the Seven Dwarfs, as ARP volunteers. They pass over.

Sound of bombs falling on volunteers. They pass out.

1st and 2nd citizens reappear, prosperously dressed, in the mortuary. Fragment of bomb nearby, "Made in England."

### SCENE: A Woodland Glade.

Twittering of birds.

## Letter from the Editor

17, Featherstone Buildings,  
London, W.C.1.

AFTER the "ideological cow" (described expressively by RICHARD SYMONDS a week or two ago in an article replied to on the opposite page), comes the "flying cow"; it is suggested as a way of obtaining peace!

The way in which it came to be put forward is not only unusual, but shows incidentally that, familiar as open-air speakers may be with hecklers, they cannot be so sure that they know the influences at work within the heckler's mind

### Conscience Troubled Him

I GATHER that, a few weeks ago, a heckler asked the speaker (a Congregational minister) at a Kingston (Surrey) open-air meeting why God gave cows horns. He put the question somewhat unkindly, feeling that if cows had horns with which to fight, man could not be wrong in furnishing himself with fighting instruments also.

Since then however, the heckler has felt ashamed, for he is working on fighting planes, and, as he puts it in a letter he has sent to the Peace Pledge Union headquarters.

If these planes imitate a cow in the instance of a fighting instrument, why do they not carry a food supply to the hungry people of Spain? Then, as in the case of the cow, the horns (or uns) would soon become obsolete.

### "The Flying Cow"

AFTER saying that he wanted to apologize to the speaker at the Kingston meeting, the erstwhile heckler points out that, although ships sometimes fail to deliver food to the people who need it, the aeroplane "always gets through."

Therefore, he says, "let the aeroplane be designed for food transport. Our designers should be instructed to get busy designing aircraft specially for food transport."

"The key to our troubles—a flying cow! Why not?"

### Vera Brittain's New Book

I HEAR that VERA BRITTAİN, who writes our leader-page article this week, is bringing out a new book. It will be entitled *Thrice a Stranger*, and will be published by Victor Gollancz on September 12.

VERA BRITTAİN's most widely read book, I suppose, is *Testament of Youth*, which appeared in 1933. Since then, however, she has published *Poems of the War and After*, and *Honourable Estate*.

### Knows His Subject

ALTHOUGH he says he has no special qualifications in psychology, W. DOUGLAS HAMELIN, who writes on "The Fighting Instinct" on page 6 of this issue,

knows a good deal about the subject. He has an intense interest in the subject, stimulated by attending lectures as well as by wide reading.

He joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1916. From 1930 to 1935 MR HAMBLIN was chairman of the Disarmament Committee of Bristol Adult School Union.

### Influence of Two?

A SUSSEX reader told me recently of an interesting incident at Canterbury Cathedral, where a party of excursionists, on arrival, hurried straight to the cloisters in search of Dick Sheppard's grave.

On returning to the cathedral in time for evensong, they were met at the door by one of the vergers.

"Got a 'peace day' on today?" he asked with a smile. "I was told a mother's union was expected but this looks more like a peace meeting from what I can make of it."

It was in fact a women's fellowship from Sussex, numbering 32 in all—two of whom were members of the PPU.

"A case of a little leaven this!" commented the reader, who told me the story.

### Hint for Song-writers

THOSE who like the tune of the *Red Flag* but would prefer different words will find them in a song-sheet published by C. E. Ratcliffe. There are fifteen songs in all, set to the tunes of such favourites as *Loch Lomond*, *Killarney*, *England Arise*, and *Men of Harlech*.

I notice, however, that we still await a non-violent rendering of the *Internationale*!

The song-sheet has met with approval among progressive societies and trade unions, and can be obtained from Mr. Ratcliffe himself at 49, Fairbridge Road, London, N.19, at 3s. for fifty, post free.

### Solution to Last Week's Crossword

D	M	U	A	O	E	G
I	E	S	T	I	M	A
G	O	D	E	T	S	T
E	L	E	E	I	E	A
S	P	A	R	E	F	E
T	H	R	U	S	T	A
O	S	H	S	I	D	
S	N	E	E	Z	E	S
A	S	S	I	R	I	S
U	C	A	T	T	E	A
C	L	O	T	H	S	W
E	R	E	E	N	T	E
R	T	R	O	S	S	S



## Group Notes

By John Barclay

## THE HOLIDAY MONTH IS NOT SO QUIET

THE conference at Langham finished last Friday. Most of the "house-party" left during the morning, and an efficient motor-service organized by the indefatigable Hope Gill and worked by drivers of the cars still remaining whisked luggage to the station.

May I here thank everyone who helped to make the week so happy and successful?

Having put Manifesto and Langham behind me, I am camping with my family under the shadow of Cader Idris; the view from the tent giving peace and rest to a tried pacifist! I find it difficult to believe that during the next two weeks I need not consult my diary or the A.B.C., but can move as inclination and the boys will.

August is the holiday month but this year a new spirit is manifesting itself. Group leaders from towns are offering their services at seaside resorts and the leaders in these places are not slow to take advantage of this assistance.

Much more should be done to bring the town and country together. The advantages of living in a town are so enormous when it comes to speakers and propaganda that we should think seriously and urgently of having a fleet of vans touring all parts of the British Isles.

Permanent vans, permeating every corner, fed constantly by speakers from centres and carrying on the work of raising the voice of the people so that it can be heard as never before, demanding peace by methods of reconciliation and appeasement.

The "practical" reader will smile at this point and remark, "Where is the money coming from for this scatter-brained scheme?"—to which my answer is, "By believing that your scheme is scatter-brained you will have no scheme and no money; but by realizing that we are neither a vote-catching concern nor a commercial undertaking and by adding 'faith' to our assets,

we shall get money and support for a very practical piece of peace-making."

I will end these notes on a "Welsh rarebit." During the week August 1 to 6, the Royal National Eisteddfod was held in Cardiff. The Peace Pledge Union (*Heddychwyr Cymru*) manned a tent at the Eisteddfod and kept it going all the week with volunteers from South Wales group.

So successful was it that more will be done in the future—but it is satisfactory to know that, among other activities, 2,000 copies of PEACE NEWS were sold and many thousand copies of the Welsh Manifesto were distributed and visitors often meant new members.

Wales is consolidating and may easily grow to be the leading factor in our advance toward world peace—if not, indeed, the keystone in the building which is rapidly taking shape behind the scaffolding erected by Dick Sheppard.

## The Notice Board

## Meetings

Groups are invited to send names and addresses of people (pacifists or others) within easy reach of the City, who might be persuaded to attend a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence on October 25, to City PPU Group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

T. Kaye Earnshaw, 29 Whittaker Avenue Layton, Blackpool, would be pleased to hear from pacifists (speakers particularly) visiting Blackpool, who would like to assist at open-air meetings on the sands.

Romford group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

West Norwood group will not meet in St. Luke's Church Hall, which is undergoing redecoration, until September 13 when Mr. Sydney Larcombe will speak on the WRI.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in Kings Square, Barry. Also in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff at 8 p.m. on Sundays.

Open-air meetings are now held on Tooting Bee Common every Sunday at 7 p.m., as well as on Clapham Common (3 p.m.) and Streatham Common (6.30 p.m.). Arranged between Streatham, Battersea and Wandsworth groups.

PPU open-air meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. on Whitfield Mount, Blackheath, near Cricket Pitch.

## PEACE NEWS Sellers Wanted

Bexley Heath.—At Clock Tower every Friday, at 7 p.m. Write to Donald Port, 143 Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

Letchworth.—Volunteers for street selling wanted on Saturdays between 3 and 5 p.m. and 5 and 7 p.m. Also on Sundays outside churches. Please give details and times to J. Yardley, 49 William Way, Letchworth.

Bristol.—Every Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

Blackheath.—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

Harborne.—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46, Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

Tunbridge Wells.—Write to Maurice Cransby, 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

Nottingham.—Fridays and Mondays. Meet Friar Lane, 7 p.m. Do not leave it to a few.

Hull.—Open-air meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at West Park Gates.

## Poster Parades

More volunteers needed every Saturday at 6.45 p.m. from 96 Regent Street, and on the first Thursday of each month at 7.15 p.m.

## Miscellaneous

PPU members on holiday or resident in Leven district and willing to help in propaganda work, please write to Miss M. Simpson, "The Square," Kennoway, Fife.

Visitors to Scarborough invited join local group in visit to Langdale End, August 20. Return fare (special coach) 1s. 6d. Particulars from secretary, Donald Robson, Allways, Lady Edith's Avenue, Newby, Scarborough.

Those visiting Ayrshire district please inform Miss Jean Brock, 54, Barassie Street, Troon (tel. 634), or Mrs. Sybil White, 71 London Road, Kilmarnock.

Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to hear from pacifists intending to visit Newquay and district during the summer months, more especially those willing to take part in meetings and demonstrations.

There is now a service for the supply of literature at 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. Orders received by noon on any day can be ready for collection at the above address after noon on the day following. The object is to save postage for people who cannot collect their supplies from Regent Street, but can do so from here.

## Essential Points in the P.P.U. MANIFESTO

THE Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge: "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:

The pledge to enounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation. The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be, obtained in the well-being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his government to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination, which makes peace impossible.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

When the causes are faced, a solution, which could both meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the standard of life and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it, when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge and renewed conflict—if, indeed, civilization survives.

Copies of the full Manifesto are obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

*"Things we want you to know"*

August 13th, 1938



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## "THE ECONOMIC APPROACH TO PEACE."

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By Percy Bartlett.

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## "A CHRISTIAN SUBSTITUTE FOR ARMAMENTS"

By Leyton Richards.

(8 pages).

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# Dear Sir . . .

## RELIGIOUS & HUMANITARIAN PACIFISM

### The Case for Tolerance

I HAVE been surprised at the recent correspondence in PEACE NEWS on Christian and non-Christian pacifism. I am a Christian pacifist, and I doubt whether I could hold fast to pacifism but for my Christian belief; yet I am amazed at the intolerance shown by your Christian pacifist correspondents.

Our job is to get the ordinary man and woman to realize the folly and futility of war and to get them to declare that they will take no part in it. We shall not make our task easier by squabbling as to which is the "true" type of pacifism.

I can sympathize, to some extent, with Mr. Wyllie in the difficulties he has found in group discussions, where some of the members resent the introduction of Christian beliefs. On the other hand, I can sympathize also with the member who, having joined a movement which is not avowedly Christian, comes to a group meeting to discuss problems of peace, only to hear such words as:

I should be betraying my Lord if I did not say that the only pacifism worth anything is that based solely on the New Testament. We shall never get peace until we turn to the Lord Our God and eradicate selfishness, greed, dishonesty, pride, and lack of love and sympathy from our hearts.

Now, it is very true that when the world is Christian there will be no more war. But have we to wait until the whole world is Christian before we can have a warless world? Surely the problem of war is one which we must all attack, both Christians and non-Christians, that we may show men how utterly stupid and senseless it is.

War is a specific evil which we can concentrate on, and which, if we cooperate, we can abolish. I have little hope of seeing the world converted to Christianity in my time—or my children's time. But I have great hope of seeing a world from which war has been abolished.

To Christian pacifists in the movement (including myself), I would venture to say: More tolerance, and less of that attitude of moral superiority.

STANLEY BURDEN.

Honorary Secretary, Oxford Group.  
9 Belvedere Road, Oxford.

As a Christian pacifist, I should like to express my disagreement with those of your correspondents who claim that it is impossible for those whose pacifism is based on Christianity to cooperate with those who are pacifists for other reasons. Christians cooperate, and cannot help cooperating, with non-Christians in countless ways.

How many of your correspondents who take up the "exclusive" position, for example, refuse to deal with non-Christian shopkeepers or to receive their letters from non-Christian postmen or their education from non-Christian schoolteachers?

If we refuse to cooperate with people who are not professing Christians in work which we know is work which God wills to be done, it seems to me that we are taking their unbelief far too seriously—we are anticipating the judgment that only God can make, and "dividing the sheep from the goats" on our own initiative.

There are, nevertheless, limits to this cooperation, though I see no reason to believe that they apply in the case of the PPU. The PPU is, I take it, an essentially practical organization, with its members bound together by essentially practical aims. If, however, it began to claim that there was something "mystical" about its bond of union—if it came to be the visible expression of a new "Pacifist Religion" superseding all other religions—if, in short, it came to be a new Church, then no Christian could have anything to do with it.

Nor is this an impossible sort of danger. This "Pacifist Religion" already exists—we are all familiar with it as it is expounded by Tolstoy and Gandhi and Aldous Huxley, some people even identifying it with "True Christianity."

And it undoubtedly has representatives in the PPU—people whose pacifism is not merely based on their religion but is their

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

religion. Still, they have not turned the PPU into their "Church"—it is just a body in which they work together in a practical way with others who do not share their particular "faith."

Some of your Christian correspondents do not seem to realize that this danger is a far greater one than any that can possibly beset us when we work alongside of men like Lord Russell and Lord Ponsonby—just as the "positive Christianity" of the Nazi is infinitely more perilous than the "scientific socialism" of the Marxist.

ARTHUR N. PRIOR.

70 New Zealand House, 415 The Strand, W.C.2.

The current correspondence concerning religious and humanitarian pacifism in your columns shows once again that no other subject seems to arouse so much controversial feeling among your readers. But may I make a plea for tolerance?

The division is only made greater by the assumption (of, for instance, Mr. Wyllie in last week's PEACE NEWS) that a non-Christian pacifist is, ipso facto, a purely politically-minded, cantankerous creature.

Is it not time for those who adopt the title of "Christian" to credit at least some of those who do not accept that title with a belief in the spiritual unity of mankind; surely that is the essential basis of pacifism, whether or not one finds sincere obstacles to a full acceptance of all that is implied in Christianity?

Nor need it be assumed that those obstacles necessarily imply inability to recognise in Christ's teaching—and particularly in the manner of his death—something of supreme importance for those who realize the need for sacrifice if the world is ever to achieve real peace.

If we in the Peace Pledge Union cannot retain some of that imaginative insight into the "other fellows" mind that characterized Dick Sheppard and made him able to work wholeheartedly with those of widely differing beliefs, then we might as well renounce any attempt to build a world where all men shall work together.

Finally, if Christians, rationalists, humanitarians, and other pacifists must try to convert each other to their respective beliefs, it would, I think, be best for them to do so by the power of example (which we all advocate in the international field). After all, with the passing of time one does appreciate truths one had not accepted previously; but acrimonious correspondence is an unlikely way of such realization being brought about!

J. W. C.

London, N.13.

Correspondence in PEACE NEWS of late recalls a short story:

Guide: This is the Auditorium, where great philosophers argued and debated for five hundred years.

Interested Visitor: Indeed? And what did they settle?

It would seem to be the ambition of the learned to discount each other's philosophy rather than give practical impetus to a great cause; and thus they induce in simpler minds a sense of the hopelessness of any clear solution of the problem this side of the millennium. They tempt one to think that only a successful university career could entitle a would-be pacifist to enter the lists.

What a happy contrast to this is offered by the sublime courage, the unwavering faith and unsophisticated utterances of George Lansbury. Jesus Christ himself expressed the most profound truths in the simplest diction, and inspired his unlearned followers with faith and courage in spite of the immensity of the task they had undertaken. Surely that is what we need most in all pacifists, be they learned or simple.

Though self is indeed man's great bugbear, I cannot believe that war is inherent in human nature.

"When self has ceased to occupy the centre of the orbit of life, and God occupies the throne instead, all will be changed." True, indeed; but meanwhile—what? Are we professing Christians to travel in reserved compartments apart from "publicans and sinners" and those who do not share our convictions, or, like our great Master, endeavour to "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven?"

Do help us, wiseheads; not discourage us with the depth of your reasoning.

ERNEST PARSONS.

26 Park Avenue, Oswestry.

## SELF-GRATIFICATION?

I WAS extremely startled by "A's" letter (PEACE NEWS, July 30) regarding the inadvisability of poster parades at tattoos and other military displays, and I wondered for a considerable time whether he might not be right. (I was, by the way, one of the paraders at Gatwick, though not at Aldershot.)

I follow him entirely when he talks of the sub-intoxication in which people go to tattoos, as to circuses. It is very unpleasant (and I say this even though I know that "A" is certain we enjoy it) to find oneself offending against this very human and even charming enjoyment. People have little romance and colour in their lives, Heaven knows.

But what proves "A's" argument to be entirely false is that carrying it to its logical conclusion one would not combat any effort after enjoyment, no matter what bad behaviour was involved. People who enjoy tattoos must be startled out of their superficial thinking if possible, even if we do arouse resentment in the process. I personally believe that the resentment will not last if we behave well, but even if it does it won't extend itself to other generations. (We know that our aim is to stop the next war, but the next best thing is to stop the one after that.)

The new idea is always unpopular, no matter how it is presented. People are naturally more inclined to be tolerant of us as individuals in pubs and railway carriages; but they are probably no more likely to be converted.

We cannot think for people. We must start them thinking for themselves. That is our chief work and that is how these unpleasant and startling demonstrations help.

G. B. ANDERSON.

15 Crossfield Road, N.W.3.

When "A" writes of "irresponsible neurotics, using the movement as a drug to deaden their own anxiety," is he being quite fair? I do not believe that the activities of poster parades, PEACE NEWS sellers, &c., are due either to fear or to a desire for martyrdom.

Advertising one's convictions in hostile surroundings is hardly likely to act as a "drug," and I feel certain that the great majority of those who do these things cordially dislike the experience. They do them, however, from an inner conviction of the power of advertisement—and it needs courage.

Every great movement has to force itself on the public attention in order to achieve its goal. Our message is clearly more urgent than most: therefore our publicity should be the more urgent.

The crowd that flocks to a tattoo or an air display is not militaristic; it simply represents the non-thinking masses, who are just as likely to be attracted by an arresting poster as by a spectacle of pageantry. The poster may make them think—the pageantry will not.

Hence the "long string of bedraggled self-conscious 'funnies' slouching in the gutter." That is a brilliant remark of "A's," and I will say at once that I think it is justified. He is perfectly right when he says that poster parades may do the PPU much harm, and I should like to make the suggestion, brutal as it may seem, that all paraders be definitely selected by organizers as being:

- (a) not too old;
- (b) not too odd;
- (c) not too predominantly female;
- (d) not too self-conscious;
- (e) not too aggressively cheerful.

Then I think, the PPU's courageous publicity work will no longer be open to the grave charge of "betraying the cause of peace."

All of us believe, with "A," in the value of making personal contacts and recommending books to our friends. Those members of the PPU, however, who in addition choose the harder path of publicity work should be defended against hasty and ungenerous criticism.

A. W. B. WEBB.

Holly Lodge, Butler's Cross, Aylesbury.

I hope "A's" letter in your issue of July 30 will not be dismissed lightly on account of the sweeping nature of his attack.

He is wrong in condemning poster parades outright, but he raises a very important point when he argues that they are the wrong way of demonstrating our opposition to tattoos, recruiting meetings, &c.

Actions which arouse antagonism should be avoided by pacifists except when such actions are essential—e.g. in wartime, when a refusal to fight is clearly essential, although it arouses antagonism.

In demonstrating at tattoos we are showing pacifism at its most negative, and we are also committing a kind of emotional aggression. The "kick" one gets out of these "anti" demonstrations is certainly not masochistic. It is the "kick" of the aggressor—the same "kick" that Hitler got when he entered Austria.

If aggressive methods of presenting pacifism are right, let us be thorough and embark on a programme of mass-sedition which would fill every prison in the country with protesting pacifists. This would be a very effective demonstration against militarism; but would it help the cause of pacifism and of world peace? I believe that it is only in wartime or on the verge of war that such methods should be used.

By all means let us have poster parades and open-air meetings; but let them be for pacifism and not principally against various aspects of militarism.

Recruiting meetings and tattoos should not be the occasion for pacifist counter-demonstrations which give the impression of being mere obstructionist, but should provide an incentive to pacifists to carry on their own work in their own ways.

ANTONY C. GILPIN.

Kentmore House, Castor, Peterborough.

May I express my appreciation of the letter from "A" in your issue of July 30.

The average man has a genuine horror of being thought a crank, and when he sees what he considers to be fanatics wandering about carrying placards he subconsciously disassociates himself from them.

I am not saying that poster paraders are cranks, I am merely pointing out that the "man in the street" thinks they are, and that if pacifism is ever to be the creed of the majority we must dish it up so that it appeals to everyone as a level-headed common-sense belief.

Personally I have proved that "the average man" is more to be found in pubs and clubs, and it is in these places that I try to sow my seeds. I do find, however, that the first essential is to appear as balanced as your listener, otherwise your reception will be one of banter and jibes.

A celebrity (such as "Dick") can afford to appear a little eccentric; but if we ordinary mortals try to do the same thing we are immediately classed as "balmy" by the majority and what good we might have been able to do is lost inasmuch as we are pitied as half-wits.

E. J.

May I, as one of the "bedraggled self-conscious funnies" who sinned against the cause of peace at Aldershot Tattoo, be allowed to say a few words in answer to "A."

I quite agree that brewers may not have loud speakers at temperance meetings, but I do not quite follow "A" in his logic.

Were we interfering in any way with the tattoo?

Of course the obvious answer to this statement of "A's" is, neither would a brewer waste his time or his money in going to the temperance meeting. One does not generally support something one does not agree with, and I humbly apologize for jarring against that subintoxication in which "A" went to the tattoo.

I do not quite follow friend "A" when he states that we are destroying his good work.

I also have introduced a number of people to Russell and Huxley. It may interest "A" to know that it's generally my second step in trying to get people to understand our point of view. But first of all people, or perhaps I should say the majority of people have to be jarred out of their "sub-intoxicated state," and I know one who is very grateful for having been jarred.

As I have been guilty of another form of self-gratification, I still find a little pleasure in signing myself—

WILLIAM R. MARCHANT.

92 Pine Road, Winton, Bournemouth.

## HUMANISM

Mr. Whittingham says I have not really answered him. I thought my answer was very straight.

He stated that "the gospel stands or falls as a whole." It has certainly not remained a whole in the hands of institutional Christianity, which has for centuries given its official sanction to the reversal of Christ's teaching that we should return good for evil.

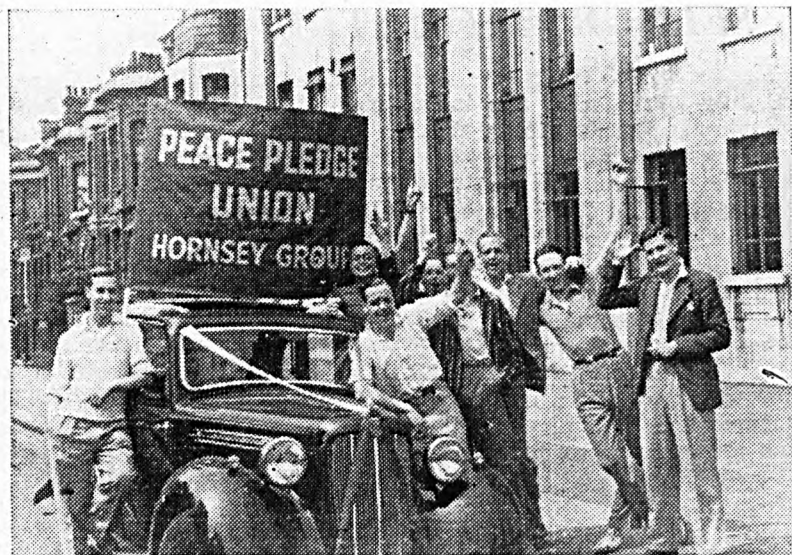
Therefore, on Mr. Whittingham's own showing, the gospel (under the tender mercies of its official exponents) is in as fallen a condition as fallen man, and as unsafe a guide for pacifists as humanism.

But Mr. Whittingham says that the Sermon on the Mount is not distinctively Christian. In that case it can stand by itself independent of those theological accretions about which even professing Christians so greatly differ that it is difficult to know in which school of thought the "whole gospel" can be found. Released by Mr. Whittingham from this entanglement the sermon can be allowed to stand on its own feet. I think it stands well.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

Longmeadow, Street, Somerset.





Members of the Hornsey PPU were in high spirits when they took part in the procession that accompanied the Manifesto coach to Hyde Park. The group has gained considerable notice in its own district as a result of the enthusiasm given to local activities.

## POINTS for the PLATFORM

### The Sufferers

ACCORDING to statistics published by the Mayor of Barcelona recently, children formed more than half the total of 2,116 people killed in the 53 air raids on the city since the war began. The number of women killed was given as 583, and the total number of wounded as 5,830.

### What War Means

THE Chinese embassy announced on July 20 that the recent Japanese raids on Hankow, Wuchang, and Yangang resulted in nearly 1,200 casualties.

Five hundred were killed and as many wounded in Hankow alone. An incendiary bomb killed thirty slum-dwellers and injured scores more, while 300 refugees lost their lives following a direct hit on the Ningpo Guild.

### To the Profiteer

MEANWHILE the boom in bombers continues. The Fairey Aviation Company, which made a loss of £4,466 in 1934, for 1937 shows a profit of £162,678. Its 10s. shares are now worth 25s. 6d.

For every £1 in ordinary shares held in 1935, the shareholders of Handley Page, Ltd., now receive approximately £22. The *Daily Herald* gives the following particulars of profits of those firms favoured by Air Ministry contracts:—

	1934	1937
Bristol	£217,102	£344,579
De Havilland	£50,994	£122,185
Hawker-Siddeley	—	£573,196
Rolls-Royce	£201,611	£263,259
Short Bros.	—	£98,026

All these figures are calculated after placing large sums to reserves and, for 1937, after making the payment of income tax and National Defence Contribution. Dividends paid are even more startling:—

	1934	1937
Bristol	Percent	Percent
Hawker-Siddeley	—	25
Fairey	5	42½
Rolls-Royce	20	12½ tax free.
Handley Page	15	22½
Short Bros.	—	30
De Havilland	7½	40

Between 1934 and 1937 Hawker-Siddeley has increased its capital by a ten percent free capital bonus and Rolls-Royce by a 25 percent free capital bonus. For 1937, Handley Page increased its ordinary capital by 200 percent free share bonus.

This year we are spending £126,000,000 on the air force, of which almost £53,000,000 is borrowed. How much of this burden on us today and on posterity is going in these fabulous profits?

### More Accidents in Industry

SIDE by side with increasing unemployment, the annual report of the Chief Inspector of Factories shows a substantial increase in the number of industrial accidents—admitted to be a result of speeding up and longer hours. Following are points from the report:

Total number of reported accidents in 1937 was 192,539, of which 1,003 were fatal; Increase over 1936 was approximately nine percent—a smaller increase than in the preceding year;

Increase is attributable in the main to greater industrial activity, especially in heavy industries;

Factor of increasing importance was the employment for the first time in factories of large numbers of unskilled or partly trained persons.

In a separate chapter of the report, Mr. S. R. Bennett, a superintendent inspector, declares that if all employers and managers took a personal interest in the safety and welfare of their young employees there is no doubt that a great and immediate reduction in the incidence of accidents to young workers would follow.

## AN ARTIST WHO SAW THROUGH WAR

By E. J. W. TAPSELL

VISITORS to the Lakes have just had a wonderful opportunity to view a collection of unknown works by Turner, lent by Mr. W. Dennis Wivell, of Keswick Hotel, to an exhibition held at Keswick by the Friends of the Lake District Society.

The collection is part of the life's work of an American, Mr. J. D. Anderson, who has brought these pictures, Turner's impressions of Lakeland, home to the district to which they belong. The exhibition itself closes today (Saturday), but I believe the Turner works will still be at Keswick for those to see who are interested, and the curator of the museum in which this show is held told me he hopes the Turners will be exhibited permanently.

### J. M. W. Turner: Pacifist

What interested me, apart from the delicate loveliness of the later works, was a set of earlier (1808) sketches of scenes in Lakeland, bearing Turner's poetic inscriptions (using the word "poetic" in its widest sense, as many of the inscriptions are prose). These, like the inscriptions on Chinese paintings, are the philosophical meditations of the artist while at work on the sketch.

### Injustice and Violence

One is reminded of Ruskin's remarks on the destructive and sordid activities of the society in which Turner, with the beauty-loving mind of a Dante, was brought up.

The date, 1808 (the period of Napoleon), brings a flash of light to bear on the following, written under a lurid impression of Ambleside, coloured with precisely the colours which Dante used to describe the faces of Lucifer in the *Inferno*—black, red, and yellowish!—

Are not men unjust, false, violent, and even in their vices changeable? . . . Are they not absurd in their opinions? . . . Do they not continually what to themselves they cannot bear to be done? . . . Solitude is certainly preferable to such society.

The hermit's life is, however, no way out. All men are interdependent. The true solution is this:

Go then once more and view thyself with tenderness in others: shew, if thou canst, the charms of rectitude; no good deed can die fruitless. . . . Leave wrong to the mystery of forgiveness. Remember goodness has attractive grace, that every little spark will light some fellow traveller through his devious way.

### "The Rest is Pride"

Turner's most vital reflections are occasioned on the site of the Roman camp at Ambleside. It brought to his mind imperialism and all it involves.

Peace, give us thy blessing! What has been ever gained from, or by being Foes? Call on history to tell the advantage War has ever really produced. Persia and Greece, Rome and Carthage, where are your conquests?

With room enough in the world for all, to give and receive, peace is all we want; the rest is pride, somewhere. It will be found a true and simple remark "When enmity, opposition, contest, subsides, all things flourish. The spirit of blessing presides over peace."

These inscriptions, quaintly worded as they sometimes are, reveal the soul of Turner, the mightiest of landscape painters, who made his lonely journey through war-mongering Europe, making commentaries in works which are amongst the noblest creations of the human soul, because they are in the last analysis acts of worship toward the light which shines through them.

The works now at Keswick are surely a living witness for our own age, of that true civilization which, despite all the works of destruction, builds up the city of God through labours of splendid souls.

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## DIARY OF THE WEEK

### August

13 (Sat.) CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; Sybil Morrison, Roy Walker, and Kenneth Lee, at open-air meeting, PPU.

NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. The Square; open-air meeting; L. O. Brown and R. Sandford; PPU.

MAIDSTONE; 8 p.m. Church Institute, YMCA, Union Street; inaugural meeting, PPU group.

14 (Sun.) PAIGINTON; 7.30 p.m. The Green; open-air meeting; L. O. Brown; PPU.

BROUGHTON; 7.30 p.m. Village Hall; Canon Stuart Morris and Rev. E. S. Daubeney (chairman); PPU.

BRISTOL; 8 p.m. Horfield Common; open-air meeting; Jack Smith, Rev. Kenneth Ball, E. Humphries (chairman); FoR and PPU.

17 (Wed.) KINGSWAY; 8 p.m. Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

18 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. C. H. Luckman on "This World and the next according to Jesus Christ"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; discussion on Non-Violence; City PPU group.

BRIXHAM; 7.30 p.m. The Quay; open-air meeting; PPU.

### COMING SHORTLY

#### September

17-18 (Sat.-Sun.) NORTHAMPTON; 3 p.m.-10 p.m. and 2.30 p.m.-9 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; conference on "Civilization and Pacifism"; speaker, John P. Fletcher; PPU, Northampton and district groups. (See Notice Board, p. 12.)

23-25 (Fri.-Sun.) GLASGOW; McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street; Peace and Empire Congress; particulars from organizing secretary (Mrs. Helen Crawford), 79, West Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2.

### ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

ALBUMS, SCROLLS, &c., from 3 to 100 guineas. Battley Brothers Ltd., Printers and Publishers, The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4.

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### SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

### SITUATIONS

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# Gandhi's Plan for a Non-Violent Army

## WAY TO INDIAN INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY

### Example of Officer Who Stood Alone Between Angry Crowds

**M**R. M. K. GANDHI is at work on a plan for non-violence on a large scale, which he believes would enable India to obtain full independence and would defend it against aggression from within and without.

He hopes to place his plan before the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on September 20. Similar action, properly applied, he thinks, would prevent bloodshed in the Western world.

Although details of the plan are not available, some idea of their nature may be gained from an article by Mr. Gandhi in his own newspaper, *Harijan*. In this he dealt with the qualifications necessary for a Peace Brigade, "whose members would risk their lives in dealing with riots, especially communal."

#### WOULD NOT WAIT FOR TROUBLE

"If the Congress is to succeed in its non-violent struggle," said Mr. Gandhi, "it must develop the power to deal peacefully with such situations. Communal riots are engineered by politically minded men. Many of those who take part in them are under the influence of the latter."

Mr. Gandhi has suggested the following qualifications for a member of the proposed brigade:

1. He or she must have a living faith in non-violence. This is impossible without a living faith in God. A non-violent man can do nothing save by the power and grace of God. Without it he won't have the courage to die without anger, without fear and without retaliation. Such courage comes from the belief that God sits in the hearts of all and that there should be no fear in the presence of God. The knowledge of the omnipresence of God also means respect for the lives of even those who may be called opponents. This contemplated intervention is a process of stilling the fury of man when the brute in him gets the mastery over him.

2. This messenger of peace must have equal regard for all the principal religions of the earth. Thus, if he is a Hindu, he will respect the other faiths current in India. He must therefore possess a knowledge of the general principles of the different faiths professed in the country.

3. Generally speaking this work of peace can only be done by local men in their own localities.

4. The work can be done singly or in groups. Therefore no one need wait for companions. Nevertheless one would naturally seek companions in one's own locality and form a local brigade.

5. This messenger of peace will cultivate through personal service contacts with the people in his locality or chosen circle, so that when he appears to deal with ugly situations, he does not descend upon the members of a riotous assembly as an utter stranger liable to be looked upon as a suspect or an unwelcome visitor.

6. Needless to say, a peace bringer must have a character beyond reproach and must be known for his strict impartiality.

7. Generally there are previous warnings of coming storms. If these are known, the peace brigade will not wait till the conflagration breaks out but will try to handle the situation in anticipation.

8. While, if the movement spreads, it might be well if there are some whole-time workers, it is not absolutely necessary that there should be. The idea is to have as many good and true men and women as possible. Those can be had only if volunteers are drawn from those who are engaged in various walks of life but have leisure enough to cultivate friendly relations with the people living in their circle and otherwise possess the qualifications required of a member of the Peace Brigade.

9. There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the contemplated brigade so that in course of time they will be recognized without the slightest difficulty.

After adding a warning that he will not be able to play an active part in the formation of Peace Brigades, Mr. Gandhi declared: "I know that the proposed brigade has great possibilities and that the idea behind it is quite capable of being worked out in practice."

#### RELATION TO POLICE

In a subsequent article the editor of *Harijan*, Mr. Mahadev Desai, explained that the Peace Brigade would not be expected to take over the normal functions of the police. It was expected "to achieve what the ordinary police force cannot do."

Dealing with the qualifications of the "general" of the non-violent army, Mr. Gandhi wrote:

It follows that there must be power in the word of a *satyagrahi* (non-violent) general—not the power that the possession of limitless arms gives, but the power that purity of life, strict vigilance, and ceaseless application produce.

This is impossible without the observance of

*brahmacharya*. It must be as full as it is humanly possible. *Brahmacharya* here does not mean mere physical self-control. It means much more. It means complete control over all the senses. Thus an impure thought is a breach of *brahmacharya*; so is anger.

#### STOOD BETWEEN ANGRY CROWDS

The kind of action that the brigade would undertake was exemplified by an Indian Civil Service officer who, earlier this year, prevented a communal clash.

He stood alone, between two crowds of 25,000 people each, and challenged one side to kill him before attacking the other.

The officer in question came from the province of Sind, and it appears that the first concerted move for the creation of a peace brigade also came from Sind, for the Mayor of Karachi called a meeting to discuss the matter.

## News of Note

#### GERMAN ANTI-MILITARISTS SENTENCED

**H**EAVY sentences were passed last week on members of the Bible Searchers' League when they appeared before the Bremen tribunal charged with disseminating propaganda against military service and the building of armaments. Several of the accused had previously been sentenced for "adopting an attitude hostile to the State." They were alleged to have reconstituted the league after it had been dissolved.

#### CIVILIANS IN MANOEUVRES

In the autumn reservists will take part in army manoeuvres for the first time since the reintroduction of universal military service. The manoeuvres are planned to give the civil population some idea of the effects of the new "Military Services Law" promulgated on July 18. The manoeuvres, it is stated, can be carried out under wartime conditions only if the troops, and especially the reservists receive the full support of local farmers. Country people will be required to render any necessary services or facilities to the troops.

#### PACIFISM IN HUNGARY?

M. Hubay, the organizing chief, or party manager of the new party set up through the fusion of the Hungarian movement of Major Szalasi and the Hungarian National-Socialist Party, said in a speech last week-end that Hungarianism was militaristic and despised and hated degenerate pacifism. A spiritual regeneration was essential for Hungary. At the risk of being accused of imitating foreign ideas they must fight the Jewish predominance in the press, and literature, and theatre, and films. The Hungarists would always remain faithful to Christianity, which was in their blood, but they would not remain the slaves of an alien race growing among them.

Hungarism, he added, renounced violence in the pursuit of its aims.

#### RUMANIA'S EXAMPLE

An example to other countries with minority problems has been set by the Rumanian Government which has just published the text of a very liberal nationalities statute. The chief minorities affected by this statute, are Hungarians, who number over 1,000,000; Germans (there are about 600,000); and, presumably, Jews (probably about 1,000,000).

## Native Criticism of West Indies Commission

### WAR PREPARATIONS IN OTHER COLONIES

Besides an overweight of Conservatives, the membership of the Royal Commission appointed to investigate social and economic conditions in the West Indies includes no African, or person of African descent. Thus, on the analogy of the Simon Commission to India in 1932—a commission repudiated by the Indian people because it contained no Indian—the Royal Commission to the West Indies can inspire no initial confidence in the success of its efforts.

THIS criticism of the composition of the commission is made by the International African Service Bureau, in its journal, *International African Opinion*.

As proof that Africans can hold their own in the modern world, the bureau quotes the fact that for the first time in the history of the Empire, a coloured West Indian, W. Arthur Lewis, has been appointed lecturer at the London School of Economics.

Meanwhile another colonial inquiry is planned. Trustees of the Leverhulme Trust have invited four MPs to conduct an inquiry in West Africa, with the assistance of experts. Two of the MPs are Labour, one Liberal National, and one Conservative.

While *International African Opinion* also gives significant facts relating to war preparations in French colonies (involving "press gang" methods), from Kenya comes news of similar preparations.

The Governor announced last Friday the creation of a "man-power committee," to draw up a scheme for using everyone's services in the event of war, and of a communications committee, also with a military purpose.

Commenting on events in French colonies, *International African Opinion* says:

Let British workers take note and ponder over what Popular Front (or Peace Alliance), and the "war for democracy" mean for the colonial workers.

## How Christians Can Help The Jews

THE importance of countering the effects of anti-semitism by

1. Promotion, wherever possible, of understanding and good will between Jews and Christians; and,
2. Cooperation in the relief of suffering and distress consequent upon this devastating persecution, having regard especially to the needs of "non-Aryan" Christians who are victims of this policy of racial hatred."

was urged upon Methodists in a resolution adopted unanimously by the Hull conference of the Methodist Church.

In a letter in *The Times* on Monday the Rev. Henry Carter and the Rev. William W. Simpson said the resolution "was designed to draw attention of Methodists and others to the two practical things which are within the power of the Christian community to promote."

#### FALSE ARMS SHARES

In a case in a London police court on Thursday of last week, in which two directors and the secretary of a company were charged with infringements of company law, it was stated that the principal object of the company was the exploitation of an all-metal machine-gun belt.

A circular had been issued asking people to subscribe to 5s. shares in the company, which in fact did not exist (all the shares being £1 shares). A number of preference shares had been bought by a member of the public, and the existence of these shares was not disclosed to the Registrar of Companies until nearly a year after they were allotted.

The memorandum and articles of association of the company said its objects were "to deal in shares, debentures, and other securities, and also to make donations to such persons and in such cases as may seem expedient."

A supplementary agreement to the Franco-German trade agreement of July 11, 1937, providing for the incorporation of French trade and payments with Austria in the trade and payments agreement between France and the Reich, was signed last week in Berlin.

## BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY FOR "DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS" IN COLONIES

### Proposals by T.U.C. Council

**A**MOTION viewing "with grave concern" the "persistence of deplorable conditions" of native labour in many British Colonies and Dependencies especially the West Indies, is among the most important of those on the preliminary agenda for the seventieth meeting of the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool on September 5.

The resolution has been put down by the General Council of the TUC, and urges the introduction of labour departments and inspectorates in the Colonies, promotion of trade unionism, introduction of workmen's compensation, and application of appropriate International Labour Office conventions. The Government is also asked to extend the franchise and to allow natives free access to land.

#### HUMAN MISERY

Some idea of the kind of conditions which have prompted the General Council to bring the matter before this year's congress may be gathered from an article in the current number of *Empire*, which reveals the human misery that accompanies the production of tea in Ceylon.

Workers in the Ceylon tea plantations are imported from India. The latest figures showed that, at the end of 1936, there were 659,311 men, women, and children on the estates as immigrants.

British responsibility for the present state of affairs is revealed by the fact that some 95 percent of the tea estates are worked on this labour system, and that about 85 percent of them are British owned.

There is a very high "wastage" due to ill-health and discontent, which result in labourers leaving the estates, many of them returning to India to starve. Among the methods used to prevent labourers from leaving, *Empire* mentions the Discharge Certificate Agreement.

This lays down the form of certificate

planters must give labourers who leave their estates. Planters who are parties to an agreement of the Planters' Association may not employ labourers who have no certificate.

#### BONDAGE OF DEBT

The "kangany" (agent who comes between the labourers and the planter) is often able to prevent labourers from leaving and securing their certificate because he has lent them money. (They receive their small wage monthly and consequently fall in debt.)

Planters are also able to make use of the threat of separating a family. Such separation does take place, and is not illegal.

The Agent of the Government of India has shown, in his official report, that he has insufficient staff to carry out anything like efficient inspection of the estates. He has also reported that during 1936 there were 1,433 written petitions of complaint. (Labourers, being illiterate, have to pay for these.) Of these complaints,

369 were on account of non-payment of wages and refusal of certificates;

104 were in respect of improper deductions, short payments, etc.;

37 concerned withholding of wages, Discharge Certificates or goods of labourers for alleged debts;

97 concerned "troubles on estates"—Assault by kanganyes or others; Request for protection;

85 were "Request for protection and safe discharge" from labourers who had given notice;

91 were about separation of family, restoration of wife, minor children, &c.

#### PROTECTORATES: DANGER IN TRANSFER

On his return to London from South Africa on Tuesday evening, Sir John Harris, of the Anti-Slavery and aborigines Protection Society, told the *Manchester Guardian* that, so far as native protectorates are concerned, everything now depends on the British Government.

He thought that any sudden transfer of the protectorates (to the South African Government) would result in disaster.

Sir John added that "racial feeling is very bitter, and not only between the whites and the natives, but between the Dutch and the rest."



# PEACE NEWS

August 13, 1938

## Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

aries, and which looks to Hitler as the leader.

Though a similar phenomenon exists in the case of the Roman Catholic religion, it is something comparatively new in international politics, though we come pretty near to it in the British Empire.

Properly understood, it need not necessarily be a sinister development provided its existence is recognized. Its recognition in the Sudeten Germans is going to be the basis of any settlement that may be reached in the Czechoslovak problem, and it will show itself in the foreign policy of the republic.

How strong this sense of racial unity has become among the Sudeten Germans was shown by the demonstrations at the Breslau Gymnastic Festival when the Sudeten Germans marching behind the Czechoslovak flag gave a tumultuous reception to Hitler. That nationality is not necessarily affected by this sense of racial unity is shown by the fact that there are over 273,000 Sudeten Germans permanently living in Germany who retain their Czechoslovak nationality.

### ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN EASTERN EUROPE

THE Salonika agreement between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente, whereby the former regained her military independence, was not quite so innocent as it was made to appear. That this agreement is all part of the economic struggle now proceeding in the Balkans is shown by the report that a group of French banks have made a loan to Bulgaria of £2,142,000 to be spent exclusively on purchases in France.

With the exception of Hungary, Bulgaria is more dependent on Germany than any other country in the Balkans, half her import and export trade in fact being done with that country.

For some time now the British and French Governments have been considering how Germany's dominating position can be overcome. It would appear that Britain has taken Turkey as her protégé and France will take Bulgaria now that she has entered the circle of the Franco-British Entente. Step by step the economic encirclement of Germany proceeds.

### THE CURSE OF PLENTY

THE Cambridge Plant Breeding Institute announces that it has discovered a new variety of wheat which is rust-resisting and has a 10 percent higher yield.

On the other hand with August begins the new crop year for wheat, the most important of all primary commodities in world trade. There are again ominous signs that the harvests of the world have been too bountiful; that mankind is again in jeopardy of want and starvation because it has too much of its staple food in store.

It was "surplus" wheat which played a great part in the last economic crisis from which the present serious international conditions have arisen. Even before the economic blizzard broke in 1931, steps were being considered for an international agreement to limit the supply of wheat.

Wheat was considered at the World Economic Conference, which resulted in a special international Wheat Conference being held just after the World Economic Conference had broken up. In August, 1933, the Wheat Conference reached an agreement supported by 31 nations. The agreement regulated the export of wheat and restricted its production and set up an Advisory Committee.

Since then smaller crops and the withdrawal of Greece, Bulgaria, and, more important, Argentina, has resulted in a general policy of drift. Though Great Britain has not withdrawn from the agreement she has nevertheless ignored her undertaking not to encourage any extension of the area sown to wheat. By means of the Wheat Act she has extended her wheat acreage by 92,000 acres between 1933 and 1937. Presumably other countries have done the same.

Now it appears that for the year 1938 the total world wheat crop will show an increase of 250,000,000 bushels over the record crop of ten years ago which marked the first beginning of the world economic

crisis.

Abundance is the essence of the economic problem which affects not only wheat but every other commodity. It is this problem of abundance which drives the world to poverty and war. In face of the mass poverty of mankind, can output restriction and wholesale destruction offer any real solution to this economic problem?

This is a question which no true peace policy can ignore. So far the policy of output restriction is the only policy in the field and there is not an aspect of economic activity where its influence is not being felt.

### PALESTINE COMMISSION

MALCOLM MacDONALD'S flying visit to Palestine is an innovation and one that, if followed up, may end the sense of remoteness which at present pervades Whitehall administration from a distance. In the meantime the Woodhead Commission is on its way home from Palestine to report on the technical issues involved in the partition plan recommended by the Peel Royal Commission.

When, in January this year, the terms of reference of the technical commission were announced, the Government made it clear that in sending out this commission, it was not committed to the partition plan nor to the compulsory transfer of Arabs from Jewish territory, and that the technical commission had full liberty to suggest modifications.

The Woodhead Commission has been in Palestine for just over three months, working quietly and with little show. It has interpreted its terms of reference very strictly and refused to give consideration to any possible alternatives to the principle of partition.

The effect has been that the Arabs, who have rejected the principle of partition, refused to have anything to do with the work of the commission. In consequence, only evidence from the Zionist side was presented, mostly in private, but even among Zionists there is a strong section which is opposed to partition.

During its stay in Palestine, the Commission witnessed the serious deterioration of conditions arising from increased Arab terrorism and growing lack of restraint on the part of the Jews. The commission will have realized how the present policy of indecision and vacillation is bringing a new factor into an already serious situation, namely a deep and growing distrust of British policy both in the eyes of Jews and the Arabs.

### THE NON-INTERVENTION PLAN

THE British plan, which was finally accepted by the Non-Intervention Committee for the withdrawal of foreign volunteers from both sides in the Spanish conflict, has now been in the hands of the two authorities in Spain since July 6. The Spanish Government has accepted the scheme with reservations, but General Franco has not replied and his attitude is causing deep vexation in British Government circles.

Without this scheme, there is little chance of the Anglo-Italian agreement coming into force till the civil war is either lost or won.

In the meantime the commission to report on the bombing of open towns has been appointed. This was to have been an international commission which at the request of either side, was to report as to whether the bombing of any town was justifiable from a military point of view, with a view to mobilizing world opinion against the bombing of open towns.

The idea of an international commission had to be dropped owing to the unwillingness of foreign countries to participate; a purely British commission has been appointed.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

MR. R. G. MENZIES, the Australian Attorney General, on leaving England raised again the problem of the self-governing parts of the British Empire. "Having now completely established the substantial independence of the constituent members of the Empire," he said, "we should concentrate more and more on the devising

## WOMEN SAY BRITAIN SHOULD REFUSE TO FIGHT

### What They Would Stand in Wartime

NEARLY half the women who answered a series of questions set recently by *News Review* think that Britain should refuse to fight in any event.

As for the "protection-of-the-weak" convention, whereas 48% of them would dissuade their husbands from joining up if they had no children, the fact of having children would make as many as 56% against volunteering.

No fewer than 49 percent of the voters held that there were occasions when war was justified. In fulfilment of treaty obligations, however, where there was no direct menace to British security 34 percent stated they would support war while 66 percent would keep the country out even by repudiating a treaty.

The fact was revealed that only one fifth of these women would share in public contempt for any of their menfolk who became conscientious objectors; 79 percent stated they would remain loyal in spite of the inevitable public derision.

Other replies to questions were as follows:

	Yes.	No.
Would you rather the State take your—		
(a) Husband ?	5%	11%
(b) Son ?	11%	5%
	(84% could not choose).	
Would you be more ready to let your son or husband go if the State—		
(a) guaranteed him work on his		

(Continued from col. 2)

not only of machinery but of a point of view which will preserve the essential unity of the imperial structure as a whole."

It is excellent that this question should be raised by a Dominion minister rather than by this country. It is quite clear that the present condition, or rather lack of condition, of the Empire cannot go on indefinitely. As at present constituted the Empire is one of the major problems of world peace.

The real trouble in the Empire today is that it is two different things at one and the same time. For political purposes it is nothing but a vague articulation of six sovereign and independent States, with all the rights and privileges of sovereignty in relation to the rest of the world. In economic matters it claims to be one unit to which the ordinary bases of international commercial understandings do not apply.

In other words the nations of the Empire may do things in relation to each other for their mutual benefit which not one of them would allow any other two nations outside the Empire to do.

They claim the right to give each other preferences, which, if other nations granted them to each other, would raise a major diplomatic storm as we saw a few years ago when Portugal ventured to give a preference to her own shipping.

We are in fact trying to make the best of two worlds and this cannot continue. The devastating effects of the Ottawa conference on the international situation should have made it clear that any peace movement without a clear Empire policy might easily become a futility.

return ?	25%	69%
	(6% could not decide).	
(b) guaranteed a reasonable standard of living for those left at home ?	26%	59%
	(15% could not decide).	
Would you offer your services to the nation ?	60%	35%
	(5% refrained from voting).	
Do you think it will ever be possible to devise an international organization strong enough to preserve world peace ?	82%	18%

One feature which may have somewhat affected the results of the voting was the fact that only nine percent believed that Britain would be involved in war in the near future.

## Peace Service Planned for Armistice Day

With the cooperation of the PPU, the Women's Cooperative Guild will hold a similar service in Regents Park at 11 a.m. on Armistice Day as was held last year. The two minutes silence will be observed, the Guild Peace Pledge recited, and a Co-operative Choir will sing peace music. The service will be entirely free from military associations.

It is hoped that after the service it will be possible to form a procession of thousands of women to march with peace banners to the Central Hall, Westminster, after which a big peace meeting will be held. George Lansbury, Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Vera Brittain, Mrs. Naftek (International Guild), and Mrs. Pavitt have all been invited to speak. The Guild President, Mrs. M. Dale, will be in the chair.

The procession will be divided into sections, and branches will be informed in which section they will march. It is hoped that a strong contingent will be present to represent the provinces so that the strength of pacifist opinion in the country may be expressed in a striking and impressive manner.

There are now 200,000 white poppies in stock at 17 Great Prescott Street, London, E.1, the Guild's headquarters, to be sold at 1½d. each, or 1s. 6d. per dozen, for Armistice week.

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